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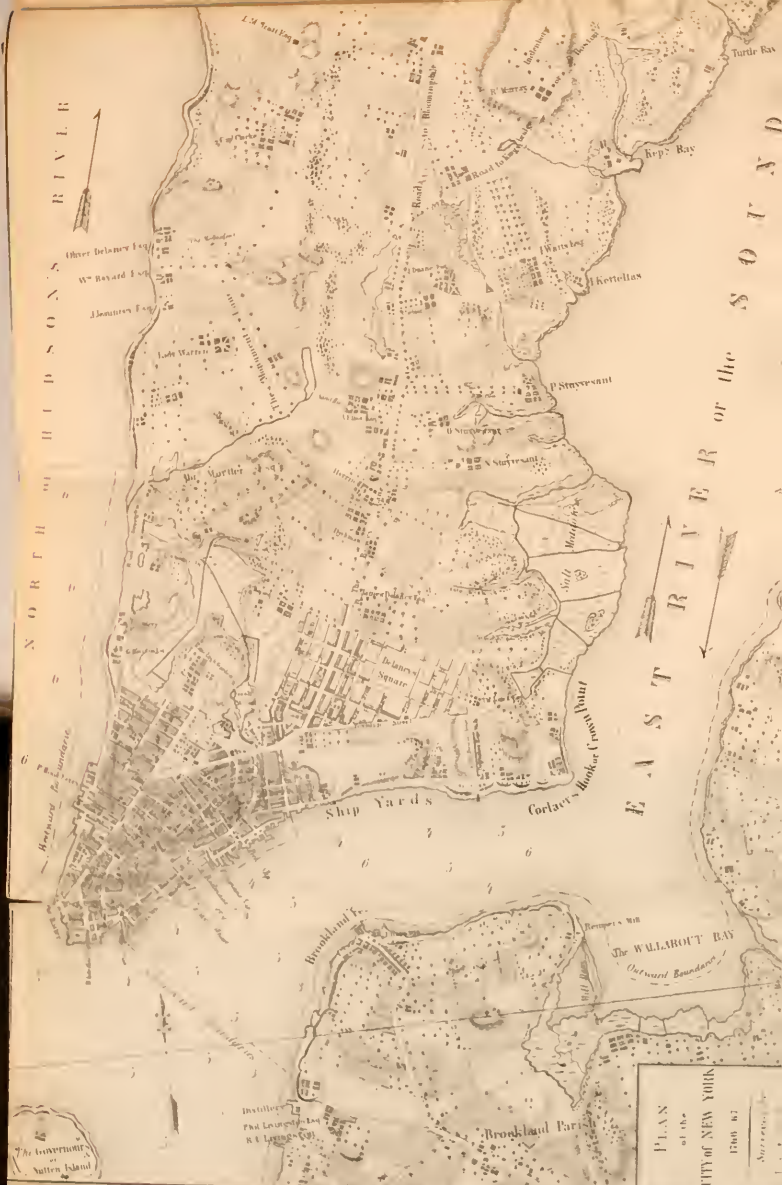












PLAN  
 of the  
 CITY of NEW YORK  
 1766 & 67  
 Surveyed by

# NEW YORK CITY

DURING THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BEING

A COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL PAPERS

(NOW FIRST PUBLISHED)

FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

OF NEW YORK CITY.

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE accompanying work, which bears for its title "New York City during the American Revolution," may be considered in some degree as a free-will offering on the part of the Mercantile Library Association to those of our Members and Citizens who, by their contributions, have secured to the Library the possession of those Historical Manuscripts and Documents known as the *Tomlinson Collection*.

It was considered fitting that those whose liberality had been thus displayed toward us, should themselves be made partakers of the benefits they had conferred, and no more appropriate way presented itself to those who had the matter in charge than publishing a few of the documents themselves and putting them in a convenient form for preservation.

For this purpose, such of the papers have been selected as pertained almost exclusively to the city of New York, and by means of them, a series of panoramic views are given of the city, from the Stamp Act Riot in 1765, to the Evacuation by the British in 1783.

During the former part of this time—until September, 1776—the city was the scene of no ordinary excitement. Patriots and loyalists dwelt here together, but the lines which distinguished them were fast being drawn. The British soldiers and the Sons of Liberty were mutually exasperating each other, and their feelings could not be wholly kept in check. It was not then, indeed, that the struggle against foreign usurpation first commenced in this city. It had been going on for well nigh a century. But it was now taking that determined form which was to lead to victory and independence.

During the last seven years of the above period, the city was in the occupancy of the British army. The glimpse that we get of it, at this time, imperfect though it be, has a peculiar interest. Would that some truthful record of all that transpired here during these eventful years might be found and given to the public.

There remains now but to thank those who have contributed in any manner to the interest of the volume. To Mr. Henry B. Dawson, the Historian, is especial credit due for the valuable Introductory Chapter, which embodies a description of the most important localities of New York city and island at the time the volume commences; and to the same gentleman is the reader indebted for, with few exceptions, the historical notes which accompany the several papers.

Interesting biographical sketches have been contributed by John L. Curtenius, Esq., of Buffalo, S. S. Purple, M. D., of New York, and Henry T. Drowne, Esq., also of this city. To Mr. Drowne we are further indebted for copies of several interesting letters written from the city by his grandfather, Dr. Solomon Drowne, of Rhode Island, contributed with the most unaffected modesty and generosity.

To D. T. Valentine, Esq., the invaluable clerk of our Common Council, we are under obligations for the use of the map engraved for one of the annual issues of his "Manual."

The historical student will appreciate the fidelity with

which the original Documents have been followed by the Printer, as regards the spelling, punctuation, and even the manifest errors, which are retained; while the general reader will catch the spirit of the times all the more faithfully from the very want of artificial elegance, which these unpretending letters and narratives display.

MERCANTILE LIBRARY, CLINTON HALL,

*June 20, 1861.*

NOTE.—The “Tomlinson Collection,” from which the materials for this volume have been drawn, consists of several hundred historical papers relating chiefly to the American Revolution and events immediately connected with it. These documents, comprising public and private correspondence, army rolls, orderly books, and other matter of like nature, with appropriate illustrations, have been brought together, during several years of research, by Mr. Abraham Tomlinson of this city, with the design of having them ultimately placed in some public institution.

The whole collection was offered to the Mercantile Library Association on such terms that it was thought desirable to secure it for the inspection and perusal of its members; and this result has been accomplished through the liberality of friends of the Association. It is proposed, when opportunity favors, to have the most interesting portions of the collection arranged in such a manner as that they can be easily seen and studied.

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## INTRODUCTION.

It is, at all times, an interesting employment to turn over the annals of any community, or to listen to the simple narrative of events in "the olden time," as it falls from the lips of some aged inhabitant; and in proportion as that community may have participated in the stirring events of bygone years, will that employment be productive of pleasure and instruction.

This general conclusion—at all times true—is peculiarly so when the annals of the city and county of New York are the subjects of consideration; and there is no community within the extended boundaries of our country to whose annals the careful student may turn with greater advantage, or on whose patriotic and self-sacrificing actions its children may find a more honest and commendable pride, than on those of that city.

It is, indeed, true that the citizens of New York have ever been peculiarly a mixed people; that their tastes and their habits have ever tended toward the bustling scenes of trade and commerce, rather than to the more quiet retreats of literature and the fine arts; that to other hands than to those of her own sons has New York generally intrusted the unwritten history of her patriotism and her enterprise, the preparation of her literature, and the education of her children; and that, looking at the present and the future, rather than at the past, she has ever pressed onward and upward toward that proud position which she will some day occupy, as the emporium of the world.

It is equally true, however, that the several nationalities and conditions of life which are represented in the counting-rooms, the workshops, and the

dwellings in New York—elements which, in themselves, are often discordant and antagonistic—through the operations of an overruling Providence, have become the basis of her immense influence and power. By the combination of these several elements, the peculiar features of all have been insensibly neutralized; while a freshness, and elasticity, and strength of character, have been imparted to the newly-formed community, which had not been possessed by any of the elements from which it has been produced. In this manner the undue circumspection of her Dutch and English and German elements, and the preponderating vivacity of her French and Irish elements, have mutually exercised a beneficial influence; while the tact and the executive abilities of the emigrants from New England and Scotland, who have sought homes among her people, have added new strength to her enterprise, and increased intelligence to her tradesmen and her mechanics.

It is also true that while the demands of trade have been respected more, in New York, than the claims of literature and the arts, it is not true that the latter have been entirely disregarded by the merchants and the tradesmen of that city. The numerous valuable private libraries which grace even the more humble dwellings, as well as those of the wealthier citizens, and the well-sustained public collections—many of them designed peculiarly for distinct classes of the people—all furnish evidence that, in her leisure, at least, New York seeks the companionship of those, of every age and nation, who have contributed to the wisdom of the present generation; and that she seeks at their hands a portion, at least, of that knowledge which they are ever ready to impart.

Nor is it less true, because those who have written our histories and school-books have failed to notice *her*, that New York *has a history*, as glorious in every respect—and, in many instances, far more so—as is that of any other community in this or any other country. Rhode Island and Maryland, justly proud of their colonial liberality, have claimed honor for the *liberty of conscience* which was cherished under their authority; yet in New York, also, under the laws of her fatherland, the same freedom had prevailed from the beginning; and the “sectaries” of Massachusetts, banished by the courts



of that colony, and no longer safe even in Rhode Island, and the persecuted and sorrow-stricken Israelites of Portugal, driven from city to city and from country to country, found permanent resting places, and continued protection, and unrestrained freedom only within the bounds of her jurisdiction. As early as October, 1664, the merchants of New York defied the power of the Government, and demanded a voice and a vote in the administration of the public affairs; and *they never ceased to lead the opposition to the Crown* until the final separation of the colonies from the mother country. In her acquittal of John Peter Zenger, in 1745, she established and maintained *the first free press*: and, through that powerful instrumentality, contributed more to the cause of the American Revolution, than did any other colony, prior to the battle at Concord. In August, 1760, in her protection of the crew of the *Samson*, and in July, 1764, in her release of the four fishermen, she declared her *opposition to the imprisonment of seamen and the right of search*, many years before Rhode Island, or any other colony, followed her example. In October, 1764, *she appointed the first Committee of Correspondence*, six years before Massachusetts, and nine years before Virginia took any steps to imitate her example, although both these States have claimed the honor of having originated "this great invention," and historians, even in New York, have boldly seconded their pretensions. While all others of the colonies, in 1764, quailed before the Parliament—admitting the supremacy of that body, and the duty of the colonies "to yield obedience to an act of Parliament, though erroneous, till repealed"—New York, alone, declared that *she would consider a violation of her rights and privileges, even by Parliament, an act of tyranny*: that she would "hate and abhor" the power which might inflict it; and, "as soon as she became able, *would throw it off*, or, perhaps, try to obtain better terms from some other power." When the Stamp Act was enacted, in 1765, she led the column of opposition to it; her merchants *organized the Non-Importation agreement*: and, among the faithful, they were *the most faithful* in the execution of its provisions. *The first blood* which was shed in defence of the rights of America, flowed from the veins of *her* inhabitants, on the Golden Hill, January 18,

1770, two months before "the Massacre" in King street, Boston, and five years and three months before the affair at Lexington. She, also, as well as Boston and Annapolis, *had a tea-party*; and she, as well as they, seasoned the waters of her harbor with the taxed tea which the cupidity of the East India Company and the insolence of the Government had attempted to thrust into her midst — differing from Boston only in doing fearlessly, in broad daylight, and without disguises, what the latter had done with timidity, in the darkness of night, and in the guise of "Mohawks." And, lastly, when hostilities had been commenced, as will be seen in the following pages, she did not hesitate to take a place in the very front rank of the opposition, or to prove, by the daring of her sons, her title to that position, by *overturning the King's authority in that city*, and by establishing in its stead a "Committee of One Hundred" of her citizens, long before any similar step was taken by any other community in the country.

From these circumstances—selected from among a multitude of others—may be judged whether or not New York has a history which is worthy of preservation; and whether or not the historians and the makers of school-books who have disregarded her patriotism, and left it unnoticed, have either been true to their country, to themselves, or to the fidelity of history. At the same time, and from the same circumstances, also, let it be determined what degree of interest it is which clusters around the contents of this volume, comprising exact copies of papers which have never before been published, and which relate entirely to the stirring events of the American Revolution in New York, or to those of the War of the Revolution through which the independence of the United States was finally established.

In the earlier part of the period referred to, as will be seen by reference to the map which accompanies the volume, New York was but a village, in extent, when compared with the populous and extended emporium which now stretches its boundaries to the farthest limits of the island on which it stands. The same "*Broad Way*," it is true, which then marked the course of the "back-bone of the island," as far north as where Duane street now crosses it, is still, as it was at that day, the pride of our citizens, their favorite

promenade, and the great centre of their "shopping" interests. "*The Bowling Green*," also, and the graveyards of Trinity and St. Paul's, the winding and narrow thoroughfares in the lower part of the city, many of them bearing new names, and all of them divested of the peculiarities which they then possessed, and "*the Commons*," now dignified with the name, although but very few of the accessories, of a "*Park*," remain to remind us of bygone days, and of generations which have also departed, leaving not even a connecting link behind.

At the period referred to, the lower extremity of the island was occupied with Fort George and its outworks—the latter embracing three bastions, with connecting curtains, extending from Whitehall slip on the south-east, to the line of the present Battery place on the north-west.

The fort, a rectangular stone work, strengthened with bastions at its angles, was elevated on an artificial mound, about fourteen feet in height, which had been thrown up "at an enormous expense;" and its gateway, which fronted "the Bowling Green," was defended by a raveling or covert-port which had been thrown out in front of the fort, toward the city. Within the enclosure of the fort were the Provincial Governor's residence, a barrack which would accommodate two hundred men, and two powder magazines—the latter of which, from their dampness, were entirely useless; and the glacis or counter-scarp on its eastern and southern fronts, as far eastward as Whitehall street, and southward as far as Pearl street, was occupied as gardens for the Governor's use.

The armaments of the fort, the raveling, and the line of works on the water line, were mounted *en barbette*; and although upward of one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery were on the ramparts, a distinguished military engineer of that period has informed us that it "seems to have been intended for profit and form rather than for defence, it being entirely exposed to a fire in reverse and enfilade;" and that although "it carried a respectful appearance with it (at a distance)," the defences on the northern front were, "of themselves, but bad, this front being command<sup>d</sup> by a piece of ground equal to it at the end of y<sup>e</sup> Bowling Green, its original

parade, and formerly in the jurisdiction of the fort. This height is 530 feet from it, and where its principal street commences called the *Broadway*."

Beside the barracks which were within the fort, another, sometimes used for a military hospital, occupied the south-eastern part of the present Battery, extending westward from Whitehall street along the present southerly line of State street; while a third, in which were posted the troops who harassed the people so much at the period under consideration, occupied the northern part of "*the Common*," on the southern line of the Chambers street of our day.

Before noticing other portions of the city, as they appeared at that early day, it may be proper to remark, that the ferry to Staten Island occupied the site, at the foot of Whitehall street, which it still retains; and that the eastern part of the Battery, then and many years afterward, was occupied with a pool of water, into which the tide flowed through Whitehall slip.

A stranger in New York, in 1767, would have seen little to admire in the plan—or, rather, in the entire absence of any plan—on which the city had been built; and the lower portions of it still retain much of that early peculiarity. The unseemly juxtaposition of fashionable private residences, merchants' stores, lawyers' offices, and mechanics' workshops—as we would consider it—also must have formed a curious feature, even in its principal streets; but, in this respect, if not in the former, the modern city has effected a radical and permanent change.

Passing from the gate of Fort George, and leaving the Provincial Secretary's office on his right—on the western corner of the Bowling Green and Whitehall street—the stroller around town of that day had "*the Broad Way*," with its well-shaded sidewalks, before him, and all the busy scenes which, from the earliest days, have rendered it famous in the annals of New York.

Next to the glacis of the fort, on the western side of the street, stood the elegant mansion of Captain Kennedy, of the Royal Navy—a building which, for architectural pretensions, was rivalled only by the residence of Mr. Walton, in Queen street, now Franklin square. Like the great city of which it still forms a part, it has survived the shock of revolutions, the demands of

commerce, and the fenéless thirst for change; and, with two stories added to its height, it is now known as "*The Washington*," No. 1 Broadway.

Adjoining the residence of Captain Kennedy was another, then owned by him, and subsequently purchased and occupied by the Honorable John Watts, a son of the gentleman of the same name who had been a member of the Provincial Council—brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson, and brother of Major Stephen Watts, whose gallantry in the service of the King, at the battle of Oriskany, is so well known. This house, also, survives the many changes which have been made in Broadway; and, at the present time, is occupied for offices.\*

Next above Mr. Watts's residence was that of Robert R. Livingston, a justice of the Supreme Court of the colony, the father of Chancellor Livingston, and one of the most distinguished of the friends of the popular movements which, a few months earlier, had convulsed the colony. After having been altered in some of its parts, this building, also, is now occupied for offices.

The fourth house in the row, on the western side of the way, was that of the Van Courtlandt family—one of the oldest and most influential families in the colony; which has given way to a modern-built residence, now also occupied for offices.

Next on his left was the City Arms Tavern, kept by George Burns—the cradle of American liberty, in which even the patriotism of Faneuil Hall was rocked in the earliest stages of its existence. In the large rooms on the second floor of that building, the belles and beaux of 1767 frequently met and amused themselves in "assemblies;" while occasional concerts and lectures and exhibitions of different kinds found quarters in the same establishment. But other and more important assemblages than those of the votaries of pleasure had met within the large room of the City Arms, and made its

\* This property was sold to Mr. Watts in February, 1792, for £2,000 sterling; in 1836, \$1,070,000 was offered for it, and refused; \$93,000 was bid for it in 1836 or 1837; and, about two years ago, it changed hands for \$37,500—a singular instance of the upward tendency of trade during the past few years.

name famous for all time to come. Two years before (*October 31, 1765*), "upwards of two hundred principal merchants" of those who "traded to Great Britain" had met in council in that room, and had there declared that they would import no more goods from Great Britain while the Stamp Act remained on the statute-books. They had also, at the same time, appointed a "*Committee of Correspondence*," for the purpose of effecting a union of the several colonies—until that time acting without concert in their opposition to the Government—and thus having there committed the first overt act of rebellion; and having, at the same time, laid the foundation of the union of thirteen separate and discordant peoples in that room, the merchants of New York had inaugurated the City Arms as the head-quarters of the American Revolution.

The old building, thus rendered famous in the history of America—for many years known as "The Atlantic Garden"—has also remained, with but few alterations, until the past summer (1860), when it gave way to the demands of commerce, having been torn down to make room for a freight-depot for the Hudson River Railroad Company.

Meanwhile, on the opposite side of "the Broad Way," was the well-known "Bowling Green," skirted by a double row of trees which extended up the slope of the street nearly as far as Beaver lane (*Morris street*). The fragments of a broken-down fence which appeared, here and there, around the Green, even at that time, bore silent testimony to the passer-by, of the audacity of the citizens, in their opposition to the Stamp Act of 1765; and revealed the source from whence were drawn some of the materials for the bonfire in which also were consumed the Lieutenant Governor's effigy, as well as his sleighs, carriage, and harnesses, in the celebrated "Stamp-Act Riot" of November 1, 1765.

In the immediate vicinity of "the Bowling Green," in 1767, were also established other persons who were prominent in the mercantile, or mechanical, or social circles of New York. On the western side of the street were George Croffle and Robert Furfyth, "from Ireland," whose blacksmith shop, and weekly advertisements—the latter more in keeping with the practice of



the present day—were equally prominent. C. Wiggins, also, with his ship-joiner's shop, was an occupant of the western side of the Broad Way; as was Mrs. Steele, in her "King's Arms Tavern," which she had removed from the lower end of Broad street, four years before. On the eastern side of the street was the York Tavern; and two doors from Beaver street, also opposite the Bowling Green, was the residence of Sir Edward Pickering, Bart.

Between Beaver lane and the Lutheran Church, in 1767, Broadway was generally occupied with private dwellings; and the promenader, so far as we have been informed, met nothing of particular moment. "The alley which led to the oyster passy" (*Exchange alley*) on his left, and Verlaatenberg, or, as it was generally called, Flatten-Barrack street (*Exchange place*), on his right,—as they still do, broke the monotony of the scene.

At some distance to the right, from the Broad Way, on the upper side of Garden street (*Exchange place*), between Broad and Smith (*near William*) streets, at the period of which we write, stood the ancient church-ediifice of the "Old" Dutch Church. It was an oblong square, with three sides of an octagon on the east side. In the front it had a square tower, of such large dimensions, that the consistory's meetings were held in it, above the entrance. That ancient meeting-house remained until 1807, when it was taken down to make room for a new ediifice, which, in its turn, was destroyed, in "the great fire" of December, 1835.

On the corner of what is now known as Rector street (then without a name), stood the old Lutheran Church, with its curious belfry; and, in its rear—toward the North River—was "the English school," which had been established and fostered, through a series of heavy trials, by the Vestry of Trinity Church. Opposite the Lutheran Church, on the eastern side of the Broad Way, stood the school-house of W. Elphinstone, one of the most accomplished teachers, of his day, in the city.

Trinity Church, in 1767, occupied the same site—surrounded by the memorials of the departed—as that on which she now stands. Separated from the sidewalk by a painted picket-fence, the modest structure—one hundred and forty-eight feet long by seventy-two in breadth—presented its semicircu-

lar chancel to the street; while, at its *western* extremity, its simple pinnacled tower and steeple rose one hundred and seventy-five feet into the air. Within, this ancient edifice was ornamented beyond any other place of public worship in the city. The head of the chancel was adorned with an altar-piece; and opposite to it, at the other end of the building, was the organ. The tops of the pillars which supported the galleries were decked with the gilt busts of angels, winged. From the ceiling were suspended two glass branches, and on the walls hung the arms of Governor Fletcher and some others of its principal benefactors. That building was destroyed in the great fire of 1776; and the substantial structure which was erected in its place, in its turn, has given way to the prevailing taste for change—the magnificent edifice which is now the parish-church of Old Trinity, representing as truly the spirit of the present age as the old building first referred to did that of the merchants and the people of New York in 1767.

Immediately in front of Trinity Church, in the olden time as it still does, Wall street extended from the Broad Way to the East River. In the earlier days of the colony (1653), “*a wall*,” or stockade, had been erected along the northern line of this street, for the protection of the town—giving a name to the thoroughfare at its base; and, although the necessity for the preservation of that wall no longer existed, when Governor Dongan administered the government, in 1688, portions of it still remained. On its northern side, near the Broad Way, a little back from the street, in 1767, stood the stone, steepled meeting-house of the Presbyterian Church, in the pulpit of which the Rev. Messrs. Treat and Rodgers were accustomed to present the truths of the gospel, as defined by the Westminster Assembly; and farther down—on the lower corner of Nassau street, where the Custom-house now stands—stood the City Hall, which served also as the Municipal and Colonial Court-house, the Debtors’ and County Jail, and the Capitol of the Province. The former of these buildings—the meeting-house—after various changes and reconstructions,\* was removed, with great care, in 1844, and reappeared, in

\* Built in 1718; enlarged in 1768; rebuilt in 1810; burned in the fall of 1834; and rebuilt immediately afterward.



its former style, in Wallington street, Jersey City, where it still stands, the meeting-house of the First Presbyterian Church—a row of splendid stores taking the place of the old meeting-house; which, subsequently, have also given way to the demands for “offices,” and a row of still newer buildings, on the same ground, now furnish quarters for a host of lawyers, bankers, brokers, insurance companies, &c.; the church, meanwhile, occupying a fine new edifice on the corner of Fifth avenue and West Eleventh street. The latter of the two—the old City Hall—after having passed through many changes (the most important of which was that under the direction of Major L’Enfant, for the reception of the first Federal Congress, under the new Constitution), was taken down in 1813, to make way for dwellings and stores, which also, in their turn, have given way to the fine building occupied by the Revenue Department of the Government, before referred to.

Proceeding up the Broad Way, from the Trinity Church, the promenader, in 1767, first passed King (*now Pine*) street on his right, and Stone (*now Thames*) street on his left—the former extending eastward from the Broad Way to the East River; the latter westward from the same central thoroughfare to the North River, which at that point then flowed on the present line of Greenwich street.

Immediately above Stone (*now Thames*) street, on the west side of the Broad Way, in 1767, stood “The King’s Arms Tavern”—so celebrated in the earlier times. It had been erected in the days of Lord Cornbury; and, subsequently, it had been the mansion of Lieutenant Governor De Lancey—its gray-stone walls; its narrow, arched windows, reaching to the floor; its rear piazza, overlooking the North River, and affording a fine lounging-place for the officers of the garrison and the fashionables of the city; and its cupola, which afforded one of the finest views of “Old New York,” being among the most prominent points of interest remembered by the sojourner in the city, at the period of which we write.

Little-Queen (*now Cedar*) street was next passed on the right, and Little (*also Cedar*) street on the left—then extending from the North River on the west, as at this time, to Smith (*now William*) street on the east.

On the fourth side of Little-Queen street, between the Broad Way and Nassau street, stood the "New-Scots' Church," in which the Rev. Doctor John Mafon at that time preached (a modest edifice, sixty-five by fifty-four feet in extent, which had been erected in 1758); and farther down the same street, in an open space which extended through to King (*now Pine*) street, stood the ancient Huguenot Church, "Du St. Esprit," a stone edifice, fifty by seventy-seven feet in extent, whose quaint hipped roof, and circular-headed windows, and lofty tower, and crowded graveyard, have disappeared only within a few years.

In the middle of the Broad Way, extending from the centre of the block between Little (*now Cedar*) street and Crown (*now Liberty*) street to that of the next block above, was the wooden shed which had been dignified with the name of the Ofwego Market; while, clustered around it—as was, also, the café with the immediate vicinities of other market-houses in the city—were the stores of many of the merchants of that period. The hardware stores of Gilbert Forbes, the elder, and that of Peter T. Curtenius, on the latter of which was displayed as a sign a large gilt "anvil and hammer," the dry-goods store of Mr. Conover, the boarding-house of Mr. Kip, and the tavern kept by Mr. Miller, were among the principal establishments which gave life to the scene around this market-house; although others were there whose owners, with the edifices which they occupied, have passed away to be forever forgotten.

Crown (*now Liberty*) street extended from opposite the centre of the Ofwego Market, on either hand, to the North River on the west and to Maiden lane on the east—its present limits. On the western side of the Broad Way, it is probable, Crown street was occupied with residences—Melancton Smith, one of the most prominent members of the bar, residing in one of them. On the eastern side of the Broad Way Crown street presented several interesting features. On its northern side, near the Broad Way, was the small, unassuming frame building which had been erected in 1706, as a meeting-house for the Friends' Society, subsequently a hospital during the Revolutionary War, and afterward the feed-store of Grant Thor-

burn, whose recollections still interest the readers of our newspapers at frequent intervals. Opposite to this edifice was the select school-house of George Murray—probably a member of the “society” which met in the neighboring meeting-house—where many of the well-known men of a later period received their education. A few doors below Murray’s school-house, on the south-east corner of Nassau street, stood the Middle Dutch Church, with its neat portico and painted picket-fence, and substantial tower and belfry, and surrounding graveyard, the scene of that innovation by Rev. Dr. Laidlie, in 1764—a sermon in the English language—which, at the period of which we write, and for many years after, had called out, and continued to call out, the bitterest opposition of the conservative Knickerbockers of our city. Adjoining the old church edifice, on the same side of Crown street, the gloomy sugar-house of the Lavingtons, created some eighty years before, frowned on the passer-by; and the horrors of which it was the scene, from 1776 to 1781, might have been readily foretold, had the mutterings of the rising storm, which were apparent to the careful observer even in 1767, been noted and considered. The sugar-house, with its evidences of suffering humanity, has passed away, leaving only a few walking-cane, which have been made from its timbers, as the witness of its former existence; the old church edifice, stripped of its picket-fence and its wooden portico, its pulpit and its pews, has become the centre of the vast postal business of this city, and, having been purchased by the United States, bids fair to give way at an early day to a more commodious and elegant structure. Descending “the Potter-baker’s hill,” in front of the residence of Hon. William Smith, to Smith (*now William*) street, and thence to Maiden lane, where it still terminates, Crown street, in 1767, was one of the most important streets in the city, forming, as it still does, one of the few thoroughfares in the lower part of the city which extended from river to river.

Maiden lane and Courtlandt street, both well known to the citizens of the present day, were next passed, the former extending to the East River, the latter to the North River. At the foot of the former, in the wide space which still remains there, was “the Fly Market,” while the flairs on the river

near by were one of the termini of the Long Island ferry; at the foot of the latter was the ferry to Powle's Hook (*Jersey City*), which still retains the same position. On the King's wharf, on the North River, between Courtlandt and Partition (*now Fulton*) streets, were the arsenal and the royal store-houses.

Dey street on the west side of the Broad Way, and John street opposite to Dey street, are still well known; and in 1767, and for nearly three quarters of a century afterward, they afforded pleasant places of residence for those who thronged the "business streets" of that portion of the city.

On the eastern side of Smith (*now William*) street, between John and Fair (*now Fulton*) street, in 1767, stood a low, wooden building, in the low loft of which a sailmaker had found a workshop. In that humble edifice, which has remained until within a few years, on the same site, the First Baptist Church in this city found its first *public* abiding place; and, at the period of which we write (1767), the First Methodist Church were also enjoying the same peculiar privilege under the same roof. It is a singular fact that the first *public* resting place of two of the principal religious denominations in this city was in the same unpretending sail-loft; while it is not less remarkable that the old structure was permitted to remain to so recent a date.

East from William street, at the period referred to, the John street of today was known as Golden Hill street; and there, and in the Fly (*now Pearl street*) between Burling slip and Fly Market (*now Maiden lane*) the spirited contest known as "THE BATTLE OF GOLDEN HILL," in which was shed the first blood of the American Revolution, was fought on the eighteenth of January, 1770, two months before the "massacre" in King street, Boston, and five years and four months before the affair at Lexington.

On the northern side of John street, near the Broad Way, in 1767, was the only theatre which was then in New York. It stood about sixty feet back from the street, with which it was connected by a covered way extending from the sidewalk to the door of the building. It was of wood, "an unfightly object," painted red; and on the seventh of December, 1767, the first season in that edifice was opened with Farquhar's comedy of *The*

*Beau's Stratagem* and Garrick's *Lethe*, the celebrated "American Company" taking the several characters.\*

\* The following, a copy of the advertisement of that performance, which appeared in *The New York Mercury*, of the same date, will interest some of my readers :

By Permission of his Excellency the Governor,

*By the American COMPANY*

At the Theatre, in *John Street*, this present evening, being the 7th instant *December*; will be presented, *A Comedy*, call'd, the

### S T R A T A G E M .

ARCHER, by Mr. HALLAM,

AIMWELL, by Mr. HENRY,

SULLEN, by Mr. TOMLINSON,

FREEMAN, by Mr. MALONE,

FOIGARD, by Mr. ALLYN,

GIBBET, by Mr. WOOLLS,

SCRUB, by Mr. WALL,

BONIFACE, by Mr. DOUGLASS,

DORINDA, by Miss HALLAM,

Lady BOUNTIFULL, by Mrs. HARMAN,

CHERRY, by Miss WAINWRIGHT,

GIPSEY, by Mrs. WALL,

Mrs. SULLEN, by Miss CHIEF.

*An Occasional Epilogue by Mrs. Douglas.*

To which will be added, a Dramatic Satire, call'd,

### L E T H E .

ÆSOP, by Mr. DOUGLASS,

DRUNKEN MAN, by Mr. HALLAM,

FRENCHMAN, by Mr. ALLYN,

FINE GENTLEMAN, by Mr. WALL,

MERCURY, (with Songs,) by Mr.

WOOLLS,

CHARON, by Mr. TOMLINSON,

Mrs. TATTOO, by Mrs. HALLAM,

Mr. TATTOO, by MALONE,

Mrs. RIOT, (with a Song in character,)

by Miss WAINWRIGHT.

To begin exactly at Six o'Clock.

*Travant Rex & Regina.*

*No Person, on any Pretence, whatever, can be admitted behind the Scenes.*

TICKETS to be had at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-Square, and at Mr. Hays's, at the Area of the Theatre.

Places in the Boxes, may be taken of Mr. Broadbelt, at the Stage Door. Ladies will please to send their Servants to keep their Places, at 4 o'Clock.

BOXES 8s. PIT 5s. GALLERY 3s.

On the eastern side of Nassau street, near John, was the new meeting-house of the German Reformed Church, of which the Rev. J. M. Kern was the pastor. This old building has survived until within a few years; and many of those who were in business near John street twenty years ago, will recollect the restaurant of Leonard Gosling, with its hundreds of dishes, which, at that time, found accommodation under its roof.

That portion of Gold street of our day which is between John street and Maiden lane, was called "Rutgers' Hill" in 1767; and the large brewery of Anthony Rutgers, jr., at that time occupied the northern corner of that lane and Maiden lane, where the old established house of Wolfe and Bishop so long did business. Eastward from Golden Hill (*now John*) street, our Gold street, at that time (1767) was known as Vandercliff street—after Dirck Vandercliff, whose orchard, many years before, had occupied that locality; and on its northern side, between Golden Hill (*now John*) street, and Fair (*now Fulton*) street, stood the meeting-house of the First Baptist Church, of which the Rev. John Gano was the pastor. It was then a plain, stone edifice, having been enlarged within three years after its first erection, fifty-two by forty-two feet in extent; and it remained there until 1840, when it was torn down, the materials serving as part of those which were taken for the construction of the new meeting-house in which the same church still worships, at the corner of Broome and Elizabeth streets.

Proceeding up the Broad Way from Dey street, the promenader in 1767 next crossed Partition (*now Fulton*) street, extending westward to the North River; or Fair (*also Fulton*) street, which extended eastward only to the present Cliff street.

On the lower corner of Fair and Dutch streets stood the small frame meeting-house of the Moravian Church, which had been erected in 1751; and on the north-eastern corner of Fair and William streets stood the more imposing stone edifice of the North Dutch Church, which still retains its original appearance and is still used by the same body, as in 1767, and for the same objects.

On the upper corner of Partition (*now Fulton*) street and the Broad



Way, in 1767, stood St. Paul's Chapel, which had been dedicated in October, 1766; and it still stands there, surrounded by its crowded grave-yard, one of the most interesting of the few landmarks which have been preserved in our city.

Opposite to St. Paul's Chapel, the road to Boston—one of the great outlets from the city—branched off from the Broad Way; and the present Park Row, and Chatham Street, and the Bowery, indicate the general course which it took through the suburbs of the city.

Wesley and Barclay Streets, named after two rectors of Trinity Church; Robinson (*now Park Place*), Murray, Warren, Church, and Chapel Streets, on the western side of the Broad Way, with the edifice of the King's (*now Columbia*) College at the foot of Robinson Street, are too well known to the citizens of New York of the present day to need any particular notice in this place. In 1767, these streets were generally occupied for residences—John and Martin Cregier being among the number—although David Grim, who has rendered so much service to the student of our local history, dispensed his ales and his good cheer at the sign of "the Three Tuns" in Chapel Street.

On the eastern side of the Broad Way, opposite the streets referred to, was the Common—an open ground, which is still well known as "The Park." Even at that early day the people had been accustomed to assemble at that place to express their wishes. They had rendezvoused there on the evening of the thirty-first of October, 1765, and on the following evening preparatory to the celebrated "Stamp Act Riot;" and at the same place on the following Tuesday, they had reassembled, *armed*, with the avowed intention to storm the Fort in order to obtain possession of the stamped papers which had been deposited within it. They had also met in that place, on the fifteenth of November, 1765, to express their pleasure when Sir Henry Moore had declared that "he had nothing to do with the stamps;" and in December of the same year, when the first stamped instrument appeared in New York, the procession which bore it proceeded to that place and burned it with the effigies with which it had been accompanied. On the

sixth of March, 1766, also, they had assembled there to express their indignation against the conduct of Lieutenant-Governor Colden in spiking the guns in the king's yard and on the Copley Battery; and in May of the same year they had celebrated, at the same place, with great spirit, the repeal of the obnoxious act. On its western margin, nearly opposite Murray street, the celebrated Liberty-pole was erected in June, 1766; and around its base (or those of the poles which, from time to time, had been erected in the place of those which the soldiers had destroyed) cluster many of the most romantic associations of that interesting era. On the nineteenth of March, 1767, the *fourth* pole had been erected on that spot in honor of "*the King, Pitt, and Liberty*;" and the colors had floated gaily from its summit on the birthday of the sovereign.

Within the area of this Common, our present *Park*, on the very spot on which now stands the City Hall, stood in 1767 the Poor-house, in the rear of which was a large garden; while on the space between that and the Broad Way, trees were planted. Eastward from the Poor-house stood the Prison, a rectangular stone building, surmounted with a cupola—a building which, during the subsequent war of the Revolution, was occupied by Cunningham, the provost marshal, whose cruelties to the "rebel" prisoners who were placed under his charge are so well known. That building, with modern improvements both interior and exterior, still retains its place in the Park, and is known to all our citizens as "The Hall of Records." North from the Poor-house, near the site which the row of buildings known as "The New City Hall" more recently occupied, at that time stood the long line of barracks which furnished quarters for the troops whose turbulent spirit produced so much confusion in the city, and whose determination to cut down "the Liberty-pole" proved so powerful an element in the movements of that period.

On the eastern side of the road to Boston, near the corner of Beekman street, at that time stood the unfinished structure of "the New Presbyterian Meeting," within whose walls, on the following New Year's Day, the message of the gospel was first delivered by the Rev. Dr. Rogers. That build-



ing, also, until within a few months, occupied the same position—being the well-known “Brick Church” meeting-house in whose Society the venerable Rev. Dr. Spring still retains his pastorate—but the building itself has given way to the demands of trade, and has disappeared.

A short distance below Nassau street, in Beekman street, at that time also stood the remains of the old theatre—the third erected in the city of New York—which had been destroyed by the people during the political troubles which had swept over New York a few months before; while a short distance above, on the corner of Frankfort and King George (*now North William*) street, stood the low stone church edifice of “the Swamp Lutheran Church,” a building which is well-remembered by many of the young men of the city.

At the foot of Warren street, extending to the present Chambers street, and overlooking the river, was the Vaux Hall, occupied in 1767 by the celebrated Major Thomas James of the Royal Regiment of artillery. It had been occupied by him during the summer and fall of 1765; and, during the riots which greeted the Stamp Act on the first of November of that year, it had been visited and ransacked by the excited populace, as will be seen by reference to the first of the series of papers in the following collection. Immediately afterward he had returned to Europe, but he came back to America in the following year, and probably, at the period of which we write, he was again an occupant of the Vaux Hall, as in 1768 he is known to have resided there. At a subsequent period the property passed into the hands of Samuel Fraunces—“Black Sam” of local celebrity during the Revolutionary era. Under his auspices the establishment was opened as a tea-garden, the visitors to which were received and entertained with all the grace which, many years afterward, so peculiarly characterized the chief of the *caf  * in President Washington’s establishment. After the Revolutionary War this building was used as their first place of meeting for public worship by the Roman Catholics in this city—the first appearance of St. Peter’s Church now in Barclay street.

North of the Common, on the eastern side of the Broad Way, where

A. T. Stewart & Co.'s dry-goods store now stands, in the olden time was the negro burying-ground; and on the side hill which extended eastward, descending toward the Little Collect, in the vicinity of Centre and Duane streets of 1861, was the place which was usually selected for the public execution of criminals. The "Little Collect" referred to, was a low, marshy lake, bordered on its northern margin by a strip of high, dry ground, which separated it from the Collect, or Fresh water, a larger and deeper lake which occupied the site of the "Tombs" and its vicinity, with an outlet into the North River along the present line of Canal street. On the dry strip of ground separating the two Collects before referred to, near the junction of Centre and Pearl streets of 1861, stood "the Powder-house," or magazine of the city; and a short distance east from it, near the site occupied by the Five Points, was a large tan-yard. The negro burying-ground and the gallows, the powder-house and the tan-yard have all disappeared; and the two lakes have been filled up, and their outlet arched over, to afford room for the demands of an extending city.

The Broad Way extended northward no farther than the present Duane street, immediately north of which, near the spot where the Hospital now stands, was the Ranelagh, a noted place of resort in the olden time. Still farther up, near the spot where Grand street now intersects Broadway, stood the country residence of Mr. Bayard. It occupied a commanding site which overlooked the upper part of the city, with the intervening valley and the surrounding country; and the splendid gardens on its southern front, and the well-shaded drive which led from the mansion to the Bowery lane, which it entered a short distance above Broome street, rendered it one of the most delightful of the many elegant suburban residences of that day.

Extending along the margin of the North River from the fort to Murray street, on the line of Greenwich street, to the upper extremity of the island in 1767 was the "Road to Greenwich," as it was then called, furnishing another outlet from the city to the northward. Along this road, also, were scattered the elegant grounds and residences of many of the leading citizens of that early day—among which were those of Mr. George Harrison, in the vicinity

of Harrifon ftree; and Mr. Leonard Lifpenard, near Laight ftree; that of Abraham Mortier, Efq., the paymafter-general of the royal forces—fince well known as the old Richmond Hill, in which General Wafhington and Aaron Burr have both refided, on the fouth-eaft corner of Varick and Charlton ftree; that of Lady Warren, wife of Admiral Sir Peter Warren— which ftill remains, furrounded with the fhade-trees of former times, the well-preferved refidence of Abraham Van Nelt, Efq., one of the oldeft merchants of the city, on Charles, Perry, Bleecker, and Fourth ftree; that of James Jauncey, Efq., a leading importer of that day, near Bethune ftree of our day; that of Colonel Wilham Bayard, another prominent merchant, which flood on the line of Horatio ftree, between Greenwich and Wafhington ftree; that of Oliver De Lancey, Efq., fubfequently a brigadier-general in the royal fervice, which flood near the line of Thirteenth ftree, weft from Ninth avenue; that of Colonel Thoma Clarke—"Chelsea"—in which his fon-in-law, Bifhop Moore, fubfequently refided, and which has remained until within a few years, on the fouth fide of Weft Twenty-third ftree, between the Ninth and Tenth avenues; and that of John Morin Scott, Efq., one of the moft learned members of the New York bar, and an early "Son of Liberty," which alfo remained until within a few year, having been known as "the Hermitage" and "the Temple of Health," on Weft Forty-third ftree, between the Eighth and Ninth avenue.

On the eaftern fide of the ifland, alfo, the country feat of the principal citizens of New York, in 1767, were thickly fcattered. Croffing eaftward from Mr. Scott's feat, the wanderer of 1767 would have ftruck the Eaft River near Turtle-Bay, near which, fronting on the Boffon road, an extension of the Bowery lane, was the elegant manfion of the Friend Robert Murray, whofe venerable lady, in September, 1776, by detaining the Britifh officers at lunch, rendered fuch efficient fervice to the retreating Americans.

A fhort diftance above Mr. Murray's (near the prefent corner of Firft Avenue and Fiftieth ftree) flood the country-feat of Mr. Beckman, one of the moft diftinguifhed of the New Yorkers of that day. That houfe, after ferving as the head-quarters of Generals Howe, Clinton, and Robertfon,

and furnishing, in its green-house, a prison for the martyr-spy, Nathan Hale, still stands one of the most interesting memorials of old New York now in existence. Nearer to the city and to the river, was "Rose Hill," the country-seat of Hon. John Watts, whose city residence on Dock street will be referred to hereafter; while in the immediate vicinity, and reached through the same lane, on the bank of the river near the foot of East Twenty-third street, was the seat of J. Ketteltas.

Near the Boston road, also surrounded with gardens, were the seats of James Duane, Esq., near Gramercy Park, and T. Tiebout, near the Fourth avenue and East Eighteenth street—the former a distinguished member of the bar, and well known in the subsequent history of his country. The country-seat of Petrus Stuyvesant, then on the bank of the river (but near the corner of East Seventeenth street and the First avenue as the city now stands), and communicating with the Boston road by means of a long, straight, closely-shaded drive; that of Gerardus Stuyvesant nearer to the road (near the present Thirteenth street, between the Second and Third avenues), and that of Nicholas William Stuyvesant, a fine hip-roofed mansion, with a lofty portico, which stood in Eighth street, between the First and Second avenues, were also prominent objects in the north-eastern suburbs of the city. Still nearer to the city, on the west side of the Boston road, was the seat of Mr. Herrin, and a short distance below it, that of Mr. Dyckman; while the elegant double, brick residence of Mr. De Lancey, on the eastern side of the Bowery lane near the present De Lancey street, with its semi-circular gateway, its dense shade trees, and its fine gardens in the rear of the house, was one of the most attractive features in that part of the island.

On the extreme eastern front of the city, westward as far as the First avenue, "the Stuyvesant meadows" presented their dreary surface; and notwithstanding the march of improvements which has characterized the past fifty years, there are here and there small portions of these "meadows" still preserving nearly their original level, although surrounded by highly valuable improvements on every side.

In the south-eastern part of the city near Corlaer's Hook, in 1767, were

also scattered several fine country-seats, among which were those of Mr. Jones, called "Mount Pitt," on Grand street near Attorney street; that of Mr. Ackland, on the extremity of the Hook; that of Mr. Byvanck, one of the principal among the merchants at that period, near the present Gouverneur slip; Mr. Degruſſe's with its extensive rope-walk, near the foot of Montgomery street; and Mr. Henry Rutgers', on the present Rutgers Place.

On the Bowery lane, on his way toward the present Chatham square, the traveller in 1767 passed a new and growing part of the city. From Bayard's lane above Broome street, to Bayard street west of the Bowery, although it had been laid out into blocks, the neighborhood appears to have been settled only on the line of the great thoroughfare; and Elizabeth, and Winne (*now Mett*), and Ryndert (*now Mulberry*) streets, were comparatively uninhabited. On the eastern side of the Bowery, however, it appears to have been thickly settled as far down as Division street, and eastward several blocks. There is no doubt, however, that like nearly every other pioneer movement in all other parts of the city, and at all times, these portions of the town were the places where the working-classes chiefly resided, although the vicinity of the public slaughter-house which then stood on the corner of Bayard and Ryndert (*now Mulberry*) streets, naturally attracted many of the butchers of that period to that neighborhood.

On the east side of Elizabeth street, between Hester and St. Nicholas (*now Canal*) streets, stood a large windmill, its yard extending through to the Bowery; and on the west side of the Bowery lane, between St. Nicholas and Bayard streets, on the site now occupied by the Old Bowery Theatre, stood an old-fashioned, two-story and attic country tavern—"the Bull's Head"—surrounded by pens for the accommodation of the drove of cattle, sheep, calves, etc., which were brought there for a market. The butchers, who lived near by, and the public slaughter-house and "the Bull's Head" being in the same neighborhood, many of the distressing scenes which are now presented in the streets of New York were then unknown; and the butcher boys—not less fond of fast driving, probably, than in our day—found other opportunities, in 1767, than those which are now afforded

while carting their small stock from the cattle-market to the distant slaughter-houses.

Below "the Bull's Head," on the same side of the Bowery lane, at a distance from the street, but near the corner of the Pell street of our day (not then opened), in 1767 stood a small, two-story frame building, which was the scene of the tragedy of Charlotte Temple, so well known to our readers; and a portion of the old building, removed to the corner of Pell street, still remains, being occupied as a drinking-shop under the sign of "the Old Tree House."

Beside these objects, nothing of special interest then existed to attract the attention of the annalist of that period, until the traveller had passed down the hill which then occupied the site of the present Chatham square, and had approached "the Common" to which reference has already been made.

Catherine and Oliver, James, Roosevelt, and Queen (*now Pearl*) streets, branched off to the left in 1767, as they still do; the first three extending to the East River, Roosevelt as far as Cherry street, and Queen by its present circuitous course joining with Hanover square, as it was then called, at Wall street.

The southern portion of Queen street at the period referred to (1767) was also known as "the Fly;" and it was, at that time, one of the principal business streets in the city. In St. George's (*now Franklin*) square, Edward Laight then carried on business as a currier and dealer in hardware; opposite to whose store the Hon. William Walton resided, in the still well-known "Walton House," at that time the most elegant private residence in the city. Near the same street (*Queen or Pearl*), in Peck slip, at that time was the dry-goods store of James Farquarson; while near "the ship yards" at the foot of James, Oliver, and Catherine streets, was the large distillery of the Desbrosses family. In the same street (*Queen*) near Beekman, were the watch-makers and jewellers' shop of T. & M. Perry, and the large mercantile establishment of Walter Franklin, one of the leading merchants of his day. In Beekman street above Cliff, as is still the case, St. George's Chapel stood—a solid, but very neat edifice, which had been opened for divine service in



1752; and in Beekman slip near Queen street was the extensive hardware store of Hubert Van Wagenan, whose sign of a "Golden Bread-axe" was so often referred to in the annals of that period. Further down Queen street, near the Burling slip, was the hardware store of William & Utlick, in which were displayed a large "Lock and Key."

This Utlick was undoubtedly one of the firm of William & Henry Utlick, whose deliberate violation of the non-importation agreement in March, 1775, among other matters, led to the celebrated meeting of "the Sons of Liberty," at the Liberty-pole on the Common, on the sixth of April, 1775, at which John Lamb and Marina Wilets presided, and Captain Isaac Sears—"King Sears"—called on the people to arm, and to supply themselves with twenty-four rounds of ammunition; and he was one of the most influential merchants in the hardware trade of that day.

Opposite Burling slip, also in Queen street, was the establishment of Jacob Le Roy, with its varied assortment of hemp, cordage, yarn, dry goods, hardware, etc.; while just below the street, in the slip, was the grocery of Jeremiah Brower.

Proceeding down Queen street toward Maiden lane, the large grocery of Peters & Rapelle was passed; and "the Fly Market," or rather the Fly Markets—for it is said there were *two* wooden sheds which bore this collective name—soon afterward presented itself to the view of the passer-by. The Fly Market occupied the slip at the foot of Maiden lane, as already stated; and there, also, were the ferry stairs at which the boats from Brooklyn discharged their passengers and their cargoes.

Around this Fly Market, as around all the other markets of that day, were the residences or business establishments of many of the merchants of New York. William Malcolm, one of the early vestrymen of Trinity Church; Mr. Rapelje, a leading importer of the varied merchandise used in the colony; Alexander Willson, a heavy dealer in dry goods; Philip Livingston, a dealer in hardware, glass, grindstones, marble chimney-pieces, rum, furs, etc.—a leading politician, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776—near the ferry stairs; Walter & Thomas Buchanan

& Co, dealers in dry goods, cables, shoes, etc.—to whom the New-York tea ship was consigned in 1773; McDavitt, the auctioneer; and Nicholas Carmer, at the sign of “the Cross-Handfaws,” were among the number of those who did business there; while Bowne & Rickman, Richard Williamfon, and Smith Ramadge, large dealers of goods of every conceivable character, were in Queen street, in the immediate vicinity.

Proceeding thence down Queen street, King (*now Pine*) street was next passed—Little Queen (*now Cedar*) street at that time extending down no farther than Smith (*now William*) street—and near by, the attractive goldsmith’s and jeweller’s store of Charles Oliver Bruff was sure to arrest the attention.

Wall street also was a place of trade in 1767, as well as one of residences. At that time, among the establishments of other merchants who were there, might have been those of Breefe & Huffman, dealers of dry goods, crockery, etc.; John Allicocke, one of the most earnest of the “Sons of Liberty,” a dealer in wines, teas, etc., on the corner of Queen (*now Pearl*) street; Edward Agar, a dealer in drugs, near the City Hall (*now Cylom-house*); John Thurman, jr., a dealer in dry goods, on the corner of Smith (*now William*) street; Joseph Cox, a dealer in upholstery goods; Samuel Verplanck, a dealer in dry goods; and Mr. Coley, a silversmith, near the Coffee-house (*Water street*).

Below Wall street, proceeding down Hanover square—Queen street extending only to Wall street—the passer-by in 1767 entered one of the busiest quarters of mercantile New York. Theophilact Bache, Richard Bancker, and Henry Remfen, jr. & Co., heavy dealers in dry goods; Elizabeth Colvil, a leading milliner and dealer in dry goods; Samuel Broom & Co., extensive dealers in hardware and cutlery, rum, pork, crockery, etc.; Abram Duryee, dealer in dry goods, paints, oils, etc.; Hugh Gaine and James Rivington, the well-known publishers and bookfellers; Peter Goelet—a former partner of Peter T. Curtenius, a member of the popular “Committee of One Hundred,” and grandfather of our respected fellow-citizen, Peter Goelet, Esq., of Broadway and East Nineteenth street—one of the most exten-



five dealers in hardware, mill, brushes, etc., at the sign of "the Golden Key;" McLean & Treat, dealers in drugs and medicines; Glen & Gregory, dealers in dry goods, nails, wines, etc.; and Henry Wilmat and James McEvers, the latter the well-known stamp-master of 1765, dealers in general merchandise, were among those whose stores were in that vicinity; while "the Old Slip Market" with its concentration of business increased the bustle of the neighborhood.

The Old Slip Market, like the other market-places of that day, was only a low wooden shed; although, like them, it was founded, in 1767, with the business places of the merchants and retailers of the city. Among the former that of Gerardus Duyckinck—"the Universal Store"—in which nearly every thing found a place, was the most conspicuous; although William Beekman at the same time, like many a merchant in the country now-a-days, offered an extensive assortment of cables, hemp, broadcloths, etc., etc., for cash or country produce.

Below the Old Slip, in 1767, Hanover square was not known, and our Pearl street, from thence to Whitehall street, was called Dock street. It was a street in which were private residences as well as places of business; and there is no doubt that in consequence of its proximity to the two markets in Coenties and Old slip, to the Exchange at the foot of Broad street, and to the Fort, that it was one of the busiest in the city. In this street, near Whitehall, among other, resided the Honorable John Watts, a member of the Colonial Council, speaker of the General Assembly, and, in 1775, the intended successor of Lieutenant Governor Colden in the government of the colony; and Henry Van Vleck, also among the most respectable men in the city. Among the merchants who transacted business in Dock street were Joris Brinckerhoff, John Ernest, John Merton, and Clarkson & Schring, all dealers in general merchandise; Dirck Brinckerhoff, who sold hardware and metals at the sign of "the Golden Lock;" Henry Cuyler, who dealt largely in sugars; and Anthony Van Dam, whose trade was principally confined to wines and liquors.

In Pearl street near Coenties slip, in 1767, was "the Fish Market;" and

around that, as a centre, were also clustered many of the mercantile establishments of that period. Abeel & Byvanck, at the sign of "the New York made Spade and Sitch"—a significant sign when the non-importation agreement of 1765 was remembered—sold hardware in that vicinity; and there, also, were John Abeel, who dealt in anchors; and John and Garrett Abeel, who were falsters doing a large business. John Hammerley & Co., prominent merchants of that period; Isaac Low, the President of the Chamber of Commerce and of the popular "Committee of One Hundred," although, finally, a loyalist refugee; and Benjamin Booth, dealing in general merchandise, were also among those who did business near the Coenties Market. Mr. Vanduerfon, largely engaged as a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler, as well as a dealer in watches, music, and jewelry, transacted his business in "Bayard street, near the Coenties Market;" and there, also, were the crockery and glass stores of George Ball; the school-house of Clementina and Jane Ferguson; and the residence of John Livingston, Esq.

The river fronts, also—especially that on the East River—furnished places of business to many of the merchants and tradesmen of that period. On Hunter's quay, between Old slip and Wall street, were Grey, Cunningham & Co., dealers in dry goods, boots and shoes, metals, paints, glass, hardware, fish, groceries, rum, etc.; on Rotton row—the west side of Old slip, between Little Dock (*now Water*) street and Cruger's wharf (*Front street*)—were the law-office of John Coggill Knapp, a notorious pettifogger of that period; the goldsmiths' shops of John Dawson and Samuel Tingley; and the ship-chandlery of Samuel Loudon—afterward the patriotic printer of "The New York Packet," whose services during the War of the Revolution are so well known to every student of American history; and on Cruger's wharf (*Front street between Old and Coenties slips*) were the ship-chandlery of Henry White, and the mercantile establishments of John & Thomas Burling, and William Seaton & Co.; while Abraham Mercier kept a stock of hardware at the sign of "the Cross-keys and Crown," near the Powle's Hook ferry, at the foot of Courtlandt street, on the North River.

At the period referred to (1767) the city of New York was the head-

quarters of the military establishment in North America; and General Thomas Gage, the commander-in-chief of the forces, resided in a large double house, surrounded with elegant gardens, on the site now occupied by the stores 67 and 69 Broad street.

Among the members of the bar of New York in that day, the principal were the Hon. William Smith, a member of the Council and justice of the Court of King's Bench, who resided on Potter-baker's hill between the Dutch Church and the Fly Market (*Liberty street, between Nassau street and Maiden lane*); John Marin Scott, whose residence in "Greenwich" has been already referred to; Benjamin Kiffam, from whom at that time Lindley Murray and John Jay were imbibing lessons in law and loyalty to the crown; William Smith, the younger—one of the triumvirate through whose instrumentality, principally, the revolution in New York had been effected; William Livingston, subsequently governor of New Jersey—to secure whose daughter for his wife John Jay appears to have found a resting-place for his political principles; and Melancton Smith, whose residence in Crown street has been already alluded to.

As Judge Smith remarked a few years before, at the period of which we write "this city was the metropolis and grand mart of the province, and, by its commodious situation, commanded also all the trade of the western part of Connecticut and that of New Jersey. No season prevented her ships from launching into the ocean; and during the greatest severity of the winter an equal, unrestrained activity ran through all ranks, orders, and employments."

The following table of the exports from the colonies to Great Britain alone, and that which follows it, showing the imports from Great Britain into the same colonies, exclusive of those from Ireland and the other colonies, will show the relative importance of the trade of New York, even at that early period; while to the mercantile reader they will be equally interesting, in other respects; the latter, especially, will illustrate the fidelity of the merchants of New York to the non-importation agreement of 1765, when compared with that of the merchants in the other colonies.

TABLE OF EXPORTS from the several Colonies in America to GREAT BRITAIN, exclusive of their exports to all other places, from 1700 to 1767.

Year.	New England.			New York.			Pennsylvania.			Virginia & Maryland.			Carolinas.			Georgia.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1701	32,656	7	2	18,547	3	6	5,220	6	3	235,738	18	4½	16,973	6	3	.....	.....	.....
1705	22,793	4	8	7,393	1	4	1,309	17	7	116,768	17	8½	2,698	18	0	.....	.....	.....
1710	31,112	17	7	8,203	18	2	1,277	2	7	188,429	8	6	20,793	9	0	.....	.....	.....
1715	66,555	12	8	21,316	19	10	5,461	4	9	174,756	4	6	29,158	0	5	.....	.....	.....
1720	49,206	12	6	16,836	12	7	7,928	14	10	321,482	2	5	62,736	6	8	.....	.....	.....
1725	72,021	12	6	24,976	5	3	11,981	1	3	214,730	2	2	91,942	13	7	.....	.....	.....
1730	54,701	5	10	8,740	11	3	10,582	1	4	346,823	2	3	151,739	17	6	.....	.....	.....
1735	72,899	15	6	14,155	8	2	21,919	6	3	394,995	12	5	145,348	7	11	3,010	16	11
1740	72,389	16	2	21,498	0	5	15,048	12	0	341,997	10	11	266,560	4	5	924	9	8
1745	38,948	10	9	14,083	3	9	10,130	9	2	399,423	6	3	91,847	5	3	.....	.....	.....
1750	48,455	9	0	35,634	8	6	28,191	0	0	508,939	1	10	191,607	6	3	1,942	19	11
1755	59,533	6	11	28,054	12	3	32,336	10	6	489,668	17	0	325,525	13	6	4,437	16	10
1760	37,802	13	1	21,125	0	0	22,754	15	3	594,451	1	11	162,769	6	7	12,198	14	10
1763	74,815	1	1	53,988	14	4	38,228	10	2	642,294	2	9	282,366	3	6	14,469	18	4
1764	88,157	1	9	53,697	10	4	36,258	18	1	559,408	16	1	341,727	12	7	31,325	9	4
1765	145,819	0	1	54,959	18	2	25,148	10	10	595,671	9	9	385,918	12	0	34,183	15	8
1766	141,773	4	11	67,020	11	8	26,851	3	1	461,693	9	4	293,587	7	8	53,074	16	7
1767	128,207	17	4	61,422	18	7	37,641	17	0	437,926	15	0	395,027	10	1	35,856	15	7

TABLE OF IMPORTS into the several Colonies in America from GREAT BRITAIN, exclusive of their imports from all other places, from 1700 to 1767.

Year.	New England.			New York.			Pennsylvania.			Virginia & Maryland.			Carolina.			Georgia.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1701	86,322	13	11½	31,910	6	6½	12,003	16	10	199,683	2	3½	13,928	8	3½	.....	.....	.....
1705	62,504	0	10½	27,922	14	9½	7,226	10	3½	174,322	17	3½	19,758	6	8	.....	.....	.....
1710	106,338	6	4	31,475	0	9½	6,594	14	3½	127,639	0	3½	19,613	18	11½	.....	.....	.....
1715	164,650	7	6	54,629	1	5	16,182	7	7	199,274	17	1	16,631	19	1	.....	.....	.....
1720	128,767	2	11	37,377	19	5	24,331	15	2	110,717	17	10	15,290	12	11	.....	.....	.....
1725	201,768	0	4	74,950	8	0	42,209	14	2	195,864	11	6	39,182	12	8	.....	.....	.....
1730	208,196	5	5	64,356	16	6	43,592	7	5	151,931	6	5	64,785	11	5	.....	.....	.....
1735	189,125	5	7	80,495	9	4	48,804	11	4	220,381	6	9	117,837	3	10	.....	.....	.....
1740	171,081	2	5	118,277	8	10	56,751	14	9	241,428	10	11	181,821	14	11	.....	.....	.....
1745	140,463	4	7	54,957	1	2	54,200	10	11	197,799	12	3	86,815	13	6	.....	.....	.....
1750	343,659	6	3	267,130	0	0	217,713	0	11	349,419	18	3	133,037	0	9	.....	.....	.....
1755	341,796	7	3	151,871	5	0	144,456	7	2	285,157	4	5	187,827	4	9	.....	.....	.....
1760	599,647	14	3	466,146	3	1	707,998	12	0	625,862	19	5	213,131	7	3	.....	.....	.....
1763	258,854	19	6	238,560	2	1	284,152	16	0	555,391	12	10	252,132	2	0	.....	.....	.....
1764	459,765	0	11	515,416	12	1	435,191	14	5	515,192	10	6	325,803	1	6	.....	.....	.....
1765	451,299	14	7	382,349	11	1	393,368	17	5	383,224	13	0	334,709	12	8	.....	.....	.....
1766	409,642	7	6	350,829	15	8	327,314	5	3	322,548	16	1	296,732	1	4	.....	.....	.....
1767	406,081	9	2	417,957	15	5	371,830	8	10	457,628	2	6	244,093	6	0	.....	.....	.....

The city of New York, as it appeared in 1767, has been presented to the reader with all the care and particularity which the circumstances will allow—a description which, it is hoped, will enable the reader of the following papers the more completely to understand their meaning. As the purpose of that description has been simply to illustrate the text, and to facilitate the examination of the interesting papers which have found places in this volume, by the general reader, there has been no desire to do more than to render the peculiar features of New York in 1767 as distinctly as possible, leaving to each individual reader the use of the material which has thus been furnished, in such manner and in such connection as his own taste may determine, as he progresses with his work. If, in this single desire, the purpose of the Editor may be followed by success; if the readers of the following papers shall thereby be led to take any greater interest in their contents, or to feel any stronger regard for the general subject on which they treat, or to look back with any greater degree of pride on the history of the city which was the scene of the several events referred to, the labor which has been bestowed on this chapter will not have been spent in vain, and one of the most agreeable rewards which can attend the student of American history, will have been the lot of the writer.

H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., *April 13, 1861.*





Governor Colden's despatches to Secretary Conway, on the 5th of November, 1765, and to the Lords of Trade, December 6, 1765; HOLT's *New York Gazette or Weekly Postboy*, No. 1192, November 7, 1765; EDES & GILL's *Boston Gazette*, November 11, 1765; *The Boston Postboy and Advertiser*, November 11, 1765; Dunlap's "History of New York," I., p. 419; Bancroft's "United States," V., pp. 355-6; Graham's "History of America," (*London edit.*) IV., pp. 233-4; Ramsay's "American Revolution," I., pp. 65, 66; Booth's "History of New York," pp. 418-420; Dawson's "Sons of Liberty in New York," pp. 82-111.]

NEW YORK Nov<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> 1765

Dear Sir

I Have Receiv'd my Chest and your Letter With the Greatest Pleasure imaginable, and am Extremely Gladd to Hear that you are well I had the Good Luck to get on Board a Sloop from Claverack, but did not Get so Far as N. Winfor<sup>1</sup> till the second night About 2 OClock then the wind Halld to the N W and we went thro the way Gat<sup>2</sup> like hell out of A Great Gun—A fea Term—and Got to N York about 11 the Next day I m now in A Good state of Health for which I thank my God and I Hope You may Receive these in the same ——

I m just now in high spirits full of Old Madiera and will Give you A View of the Sons of America<sup>3</sup> by whose Re-fentments will or would stamp the drummer<sup>4</sup> had he not

<sup>1</sup> "New Windfor," two miles below Newburgh.

<sup>2</sup> "Way Gate"—one of the narrow passes in the Highlands, through which the Hudson river flows.

<sup>3</sup> Probably intended for "the Sons of Liberty"—an association organized for the purpose of resisting the aggressions of the government in the colonies.

<sup>4</sup> A nickname which had been applied to Lieutenant Governor Colden.



Given A Proclamation to the Mob that he'd have nothing to do with them<sup>1</sup> ———

The first day of Nov<sup>r</sup> our City seem'd to be Very much disturb'd but did not say much by Reason that they did not know wether the Stamps took place the first or second day<sup>2</sup> the first Evening there rais'd A Wonderfull Large Mob but Did no damage by Reason of the uncertainty<sup>3</sup> the 2nd

<sup>1</sup> One of the placards through which this determination was conveyed to the people can be seen in the fine collection of papers belonging to the New York Historical Society. It is in these words:

"THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR declares he will do nothing in Relation to the STAMPS, but leave it to Sr HENRY MOORE to do as he pleases in his arrival. Council Chamber, New York, Nov. 2, 1765.

"By order of his Honour,

"GW. BANYAR, D. Cl. Con.

"The Governor acquainted Judge *Livingston*, the Mayor, Mr. *Beverly Robinson*, and Mr. *John Stevens*, this Morning, being Monday the 4th of November, that he would not issue, nor suffer to be issued, any of the STAMPS now in Fort George.

"*Robert R. Livingston*,

"*John Cruik*,

"*Beverly Robinson*,

"*John Stevens*.

"The Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of this City, being satisfied that the STAMPS are not to be issued, are determined to keep the Peace of the City at all Events, except they should have other Cause of Complaint."

<sup>2</sup> This statement is entirely erroneous, and can only be accounted for in the fact that the writer was a stranger in the city; the date is also contradicted by the date of the letter itself (*Nov. 2d*). *All the contemporary authorities* except this, which I have met with, agree that the great riot occurred on the evening of the *first* of November.

<sup>3</sup> The demonstration here referred to, occurred on the evening of Octo-

Day we heard that the Governor was design'd to distribute the stamps<sup>1</sup> he sent for the soldiers from tortoise bay<sup>2</sup> he Planted the Canon Against the City<sup>3</sup> he fixt the Cowhorns with musket balls 2 Cannon was Planted Against the Fort Gate for fear the Mob should Break in, Loded with Grape shot, he ordered the Canon of the Batory<sup>4</sup> to Be spiked up for the Mob should Come so far as Break out A Civil war And nock down the fort Major James<sup>5</sup> had said never fear for I drive N York with 500 Artillery Soldiers<sup>6</sup> he Placed Soldiers at the Gaol<sup>7</sup> to Prevent the Mobs Letting out the Prisoners he Orderd 15 Artillery Soldiers at his

ber 31, as will be seen by reference to HOLT'S *New York Gazette*, No. 1192, Nov. 7, 1765.

<sup>1</sup> In this, also, the same error of date occurs. If there was any special report on this subject at all, it was on the *first* instead of the *second* of November, as may be seen by a reference to any of the contemporary authorities.

<sup>2</sup> This force had probably been moved into the fort in compliance with a request from Lieutenant Governor Colden to General Gage, September 2, 1765.

<sup>3</sup> See also HOLT'S *New York Gazette*, 1192, November 7, 1765.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the guns on the Copsy Battery, near the foot of Whitehall street, which had been spiked by order of the Lieutenant Governor to prevent the people from turning them on the fort. This very act, however, increased the excitement of the times, and at a subsequent period called forth several popular demonstrations, particulars of which may be found in "*The Park and its Vicinity*," (*Valentine's Corporation Manual* for 1855, pp. 440-442.)

<sup>5</sup> Major Thomas James of the Royal Artillery.

<sup>6</sup> The remarks of Major James, on which this statement was based, have been differently interpreted; and a synopsis of the discussion can be found in "*The Sons of Liberty in New York*," pp. 83, 84.

<sup>7</sup> The present "Hall of Records" in the Park.

houfe<sup>1</sup> Near the Coleidge<sup>2</sup> where Black fan<sup>3</sup> Formerly dwelled and the rest of the soldiers he kept in the fort in readineſs for an Engagement In the Evening the Citizens begin to muſter about the ſtreets About 7 in the Evening I heard A Great Hozaing Near the broadway I ran that way with a Number of Others where the Mob juſt began they had an Ephogy of the Governor<sup>4</sup> ſide of Paper which ſat on An old Chair which A Seaman Carried Upon his head the Mob went from the Fields<sup>5</sup> down the Fly<sup>6</sup> hozaing at Every Corner with Amaffen fight of Candles the Mob went from thence to Mr. Maccivers who was appointed for ſtamp Matter in London<sup>7</sup> Since he did not

<sup>1</sup> This houſe, known as Vaux Hall, ſtood near the bank of the river, ſurrounded by taſtefully arranged grounds, on the block formed by Warren, Chamber, and Greenwich ſtreets, and Weſt Broadway.

<sup>2</sup> King's (now called *Columbia*) College, at the foot of Park place, a building which has given place to the ſtores of ſeveral of the members of this Aſſociation within a few years.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Franure, a ſwarthy man, well known in the city at that time as a public caterer, and ſubſequenty as the chief of the culinary ſtaff of Preſident Waſhington.

<sup>4</sup> "*Effays of the Governor.*" See, alſo, Holt's *New York Gazette*, 1192, November 7, 1765; Lieutenant Governor Cullen's deſpatch, November 5, 1765; and Egan & Galt's *Bygon Gazette*, November, 11, 1765.

<sup>5</sup> Now known as "The Park."

<sup>6</sup> Pearl ſtreet below Beekman was then known as "The Fly," from the marſhy margin of the river, by the ſide of which it extended. *Vide* De Voe's MS. "Market Book," volume I.

<sup>7</sup> James McEvers, the gentleman who had received the appointment of ſtamp-maſter, and who reſigned it at the requeſt of the people, lived on the ſpot where the building 50 Wall ſtreet, now ſtands. His place of buſineſs was in Hanover ſquare.

Except it they Honor'd him with 3 Hozaur<sup>1</sup> from thence they went to the fort<sup>2</sup> that the Governor might see his Ephogy if he dare sho his face the Mob gave several whozaus and thretened the Officers upon the wall Particularly Major James<sup>3</sup> for faying he'd drive N York with 500 Men Now tis faid that the Governor was A Drummer in the Army at Scotland<sup>4</sup> the Mob had Affurance Enough to break open the Governors Coatch houfe and took his Coatch from under the muffle of the Canon they Put the Ephogy upon the Coatch one fat up for Coatchman with the Whip in his hand whilst Others drawed it About the town, down to the Coffy Houfe<sup>5</sup> the Merchants was Ex-

<sup>1</sup> "Three huzzas."

<sup>2</sup> Fort George, at the foot of Broadway.

<sup>3</sup> "Major James"—Thomas James received a captain's commission in the Royal Artillery, March 1, 1755, and a major's, October 23, 1761. In the fall of 1765 he had come down from Crown Point; and had halted two companies of artillery, then in the city, on their way from England to the North, to assist in enforcing the Stamp Act in New York, the result of which is seen in this letter. He was promoted to a lieutenant colonelcy, January 1, 1771; to a colonel's command, February 19, 1779; and to the post of colonel commandant of the artillery, July 6, 1780. His first wife, a Spanish lady, died in 1776; his second was Margaret, daughter of James De Peyster, Esq., of Jamaica, New York, who survived him. Mrs. Martin, his daughter, died in New York in August, 1835.

<sup>4</sup> Referring to a report prevalent at that time, which has been denied, however, that Lieutenant Governor Colden had been a drummer in the army of the Pretender, in Scotland, many years before.

<sup>5</sup> *The Merchants' Coffee House*—a noted place of resort at that time—stood where the *Journal of Commerce* office now stands, at the corner of Wall and Water streets.

ceidingly Pleas'd And the mob Still increas'ing from  
 thence \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

with About 5 or 600 Candles to alight them—it was a dark night and not A Breath of Wind—I ran down to the Fort to hear what they said—as the Mob Came down' it made A Beautifull Appearance And as soon As Major James saw them I haard him say from off the wals—Hear they Come by G—d As soon As the Mob see the fort they Gave three Cheers and Came down to the Fort—they went under the Cannon which was planted A Gainst them with Grape shot, they bid a Soldier upon the wals, to tell the rebel drummer or Major James to Give orders to fire? they Placed the Gallows Against the fort Gate and took Clubs and beat A Gainst it<sup>3</sup> And there Gave three Whozaus in defiance—they then Concluded to Burn these Ephogys and the Governors

<sup>2</sup> “*The mob came down.*” After the Lieutenant Governor’s coach and fleighs had been taken from the carriage-house, they were dragged through the streets toward the Common—now the Park—by the party which had seized them; and, while on the way, this party met another then on its way to the Fort, united with it, and moved “down” Broadway in the manner described in the letter.

<sup>3</sup> In an anonymous notice which was posted at the coffee-house during the day, similar defiance had been issued; and Lieutenant Governor Colden had been threatened with summary punishment should he “fire upon the town.”

<sup>4</sup> —“they intrepidly marched with the Gallows, Coach, &c., up to the very Gate, where they knocked and demanded admittance, and if they had not been restrained by some humane Persons who had Influence over them, would doubtless have taken the Fort.”—Horn’s *New York Gazette*, 1192, November 7, 1765.

Coatch in the Boldengren<sup>1</sup> before there Eyes<sup>2</sup> they told M James as foon As the Coatch was burnt they would knock down his houfe then they \*

\* \* \* \*

was juft going to Major James to Knock his houfe down and if he was A Man he fhould Go and defend it. the Ladys fainted as they Could not Go on board——

Then the Mob Gave three Chairs and went to Major Jameses And drove the Soldiers out the Back way then with one Confent they began upon the houfe and in Lefs than 10 Minutes had the windows and dores the Looking Glaffes Mehogany Tables Silk Curtains A Libiry of Books all the China and furniture they feather Beds they cut and threw about the ftreets and burnt broke and tore the Garden drank 3 or 4 Pipes of wine deftroyd the Beef throo the butter about and at Laft burnt the whole<sup>3</sup> only one red Silk Curtain they kept for A Colour<sup>4</sup> then they diftroyd the The 3 day they was refolv'd to have the Governor Ded or Alive<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Bowling Green—ftill preferved, at the foot of Broadway.

<sup>2</sup> ——“we make no Doubt, the L——t G——r, and his Friends, had the Mortification of viewing the whole Proceeding from the Ramparts of the Fort.”—EDES & GILL's *Boston Gazette*, November 11, 1765.

<sup>3</sup> As a partial compenfation for this damage Major James received four hundred guineas in England; and, in December, 1766, the Affembly of New York voted him a gratuity of £1745 15s. 2½d., as a further compenfation. *Vide* Journal of Affembly.

<sup>4</sup> As “the Colours of the Royal Regiment, were taken out and carried off triumphantly”—(*Vide* HOLT's *New York Gazette*, 1192, November 7, 1765)—there is no doubt the writer here refers to that circumftance.

<sup>5</sup> “The next day letters and Meffages were fent unto me, threatening my

The fort Got up the fathiens<sup>1</sup> in order for Battle And the mob began before dark the Governor sent for His Council which held about 2 Hours whilst thousands stood by ready waiting for the word the Gov<sup>r</sup> concluded and promised faithfully to have nothing to do with the stamps<sup>2</sup> and he would send them back to London with Capt Davis<sup>3</sup>

\* \* \* all Peacable all the mob went home every man to his home \* \* \* Britons

E CARTER<sup>4</sup>

life, if I did not deliver up stamped papers."—*Low. Gov. Colden to the Lords of Trade, 6 Decr, 1765.*

<sup>1</sup> "Fathiens"—long bundles of sticks and brushwood, which are used for filling up ditches, erecting breastwork, etc. In this case they were probably designed to form shelters for the troops who were required to defend the parapets of the fort.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* Note 1, page 43.

<sup>3</sup> Capt. Davis, of the *Edward*, on which the Stamp<sup>s</sup> had been brought to America.

<sup>4</sup> Owing to the signature being blotted, the name of the writer of this homely but picturesque epistle cannot be made out with entire certainty.



## NEW YORK IN 1770.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF BENJ. YOUNG PRIME.

[The letter from which the following has been extracted, is a business letter which was written from the city of New York to Dr. Petrus Tappan, of Esopus (*now Kingston, Ulster County, N. Y.*). It clearly indicates the difficulties which "the Sons of Liberty" in New York had to encounter in the struggle of the American Revolution, and the character of the agencies which the government appealed to in support of its prerogatives.

The troubles which arose from the hand-bill call for a public meeting, to take into consideration the betrayal of the popular rights by the General Assembly of the province (together with copies of the call itself, of the second hand-bill signed "*Legion*," and of other documents which this affair produced,) have been fully described in Dawson's "The Park and its Vicinity" (*Valentine's Manual* for 1855, pp. 446-449); and Leake's "Life of General John Lamb," pp. 49-63.]

NEW YORK, April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1770.

SIR,

\* \* \* \* \*

Capt McDougal<sup>1</sup> is indeed in Jail, & I hope if he is

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently General Alexander McDougal of the army of the Revolution. He had been arrested on the information of James Parker, the printer of it, on a charge of writing the hand-bill call of the meeting, signed "*A Son of Liberty*;" and having refused to give bail, he had been thrown into prison. "Captain McDougal" was a wealthy retired shipmaster, an active "Son of Liberty," and a sincere patriot. After the war, he was the first president of the Bank of New York, and he died in 1795.



brought to tryal, he will come off with flying colours'. The party against him is very virulent & I hope, impotent. I myself am threaten'd (by papers thrown into my house) with a Damnation Drubbing and Imprisonment, on suspicion of being the Author of the *Watchman*<sup>2</sup>. So that for 4 or 5 Weeks past I've walk'd the Streets (especially of an Evening) arm'd with either a Sword or Pistols or both. No attempt however has been made upon me, except the night the first letter was thrown in, when (as my Serv<sup>t</sup> tells me) a Man knock'd at my door, dress'd in a flapp'd hat over clubb'd hair, a Watch-Coat, a Ruffled Shirt & a pair of Sailor's Trouser's. A pretty kind of Disguise indeed! I'm likewise accus'd by one of the papers thrown into my house of being the Author of the Paper sign'd *Legion*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> He does not appear to have been tried, although the grand jury returned a true bill against him at the April term of the court.

<sup>2</sup> A series of political essays which appeared about that time.

<sup>3</sup> The following is a copy of this paper, taken from the original in the library of the New York Historical Society:—

“TO THE PUBLIC.

“The Spirit of the times renders it necessary for the inhabitants of this city to convene, in order effectually to avert the destructive consequences of the late BASE INGLORIOUS conduct of our General Assembly, who have in opposition to the loud and general voice of their constituents, the dictates of sound policy, the ties of gratitude, and the glorious struggle we have engaged in for our invaluable birthrights, dared to vote supplies to the troops without the least shadow of a pretext for their pernicious grant. The most eligible place will be in the Fields, near Mr. De La Montaigne's and the time,—between 10 and 11 o'clock this morning, where we doubt not every friend of his country will attend.

“LEGION.”

tho' God knows I'm not the Author of the one paper or the other. You see, & I hope you will in your Town properly represent, the Conduct of the party oppos'd to us.

In case of a new Election I hope you will exert yourself so far as your Influence extends & so far as your Connections will admit, to procure the Election of such Members as you can believe will prove friends to their Country. If I'm not mistaken, I've heard that Mr. Clinton has Marry'd your Sister<sup>1</sup>. If so, I give you joy! He's a *very* good man; but I'm afraid he has been overseen in voting against my Friend McDougal. i. e. in joining in the Vote, that the paper sign'd *A Son of Liberty*<sup>2</sup> was a Libel; whoever it might be that wrote it.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sir,

Your humble Servt,

BENJ. YOUNG PRIME.

*Addressed*

"To Dr. Petrus Tappan  
at Eufopus."

<sup>1</sup> George Clinton, afterward Governor of the State, married Miss Cornelia Tappan, sister of Dr. Petrus Tappan, to whom this letter was addressed.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of the hand-bill addressed "TO THE BETRAYED Inhabitants of the City and Colony of NEW YORK," and signed "A Son of Liberty," may be found in *Valentine's Manual* for 1855, pp. 482-484.

## COLONEL MARINUS WILLETT'S NARRATIVE.

[The substance of the following narrative has been published, by the hand of the distinguished author of it, many years ago, but in consequence of the rarity of that publication, and the interest which attaches to the subject and its author, it has been considered expedient to present the statement in the form in which Colonel Willett left it. Historical students will understand the great value of this version of the narrative, when compared with the summary published in 1831; and they will prefer it, even while the latter may be on their shelves; while those who do not possess that publication will the more heartily welcome the narrative in its present form.

Colonel Marinus Willett, the writer of this narrative, was born at Jamaica, Long Island, July 31, 1740. In 1758 he joined the army under General Abercrombie, as a lieutenant in Colonel De Lancey's regiment; was in the disastrous action near Tianderoga; and accompanied Bradstreet in his expedition against Fort Frontenac.

He was one of the earliest friends of freedom in New York; and as a member of "*The Sons of Liberty*," was an active participant in the opposition to the government—an instance of which is related in this narrative.

Accepting a captain's command in the First New York regiment, commanded by Colonel McDougal, he was with Montgomery in the Northern campaign of 1775-6.

In the spring of 1777 he was promoted to a lieutenant colonelcy, and commanded Fort Constitution, on the Hudson. At Fort Stanwix, in the Mohawk valley, he performed one of the most signal exploits of the war; and he remained in command of that post until the spring of 1778, when he joined the main army under Washington, with which he was present in the action at Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

He was with Sullivan in his campaign against the Indians; and in 1780, 1781, and 1782, he was actively engaged in the valley of the Mohawk, rendering great service to his country.

In 1792 President Washington appointed him to treat with the Creek Indians; and in the same year he was appointed a brigadier general in the army

designed to operate against the North-western Indians, which office he declined.

He was sheriff of the county of New York from 1784 to 1787, and from 1791 to 1795; and mayor of the city in 1807.

In the second war with Great Britain he also joined with great spirit; and on the 22d of August, 1830, he died, aged 90 years.]

The account of the Lexington Battle<sup>1</sup> was received at New York the Sunday after it took place<sup>2</sup> and occasioned an Impulse in the Inhabitants which produced a general Infurrection of the Populace who assembled and not being able to procure the Key of an arsnell<sup>3</sup> where a number of arms belonging to the Colonial Government were deposited forced open the door and took possession of those arms consisting of about 600 Muskets with Bayonets & Catridge boxes to each filled with ball Catridges<sup>4</sup> These arms were distributed among the most active of the Citizens who formed themselves into a Voluntary Corps and assumed the Gover-

<sup>1</sup> This "account," signed by "T. Palmer, One of the Committee of Safety," dated "Watertown, Wednesday morning, near ten o'clock, April 19, 1775," can be found entire, in *The New York Gazette and Mercury*, April 24, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> "This city was alarmed yesterday by a report from the eastward, that the King's troops had attacked the Massachusetts-Bay people."—*Letter from New York to a gentleman in Philadelphia*, April 24, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> "The Arsenal" here referred to was a portion of the City Hall in Wall street, in which the arms of the city were kept.—Leake's "*Life of General Lamb*," p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> "Towards evening (*Sunday, April 23*.) they went and secured about half the city arms; a guard of about one hundred men, I am told, was then placed at the City Hall, to secure the rest of the arms."—*Letter from New York*, April 24, 1775.

ment of the City. They possessed themselves of the keys of the Custom-house and took possession of all the public stores.<sup>1</sup> There was a general stagnation of business. The armed Citizens were constantly parading about the City Without any Definite object. Part of the 18th British regiment called the Royal Irish under the Command of the Major of the regiment<sup>2</sup> who were garrisoned in the City Confined themselves to their barracks.<sup>3</sup> The unsystemed and Confused manner in which things were conducted manifested the necessity of forming some regular plan of Government to effect which a meeting of the Citizens were requested at the Merchants Coffee-house when it was Unanimously agreed that the Government should be placed in the hands of a Committee and solemn resolutions Entered into to Support their measures untill further provision should be made by the Continental Congress<sup>4</sup> which were

<sup>1</sup> "Lamb and Sears then returned to the custom-house, demanded the keys of the collector, and having received them, they dismissed the officers and closed the building; sending notices to Philadelphia and elsewhere of what they had done, and calling upon all good patriots to follow their example."—Leake's "*Life of General Lamb*," p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> The major commanding the detachment of the Royal Irish regiment here referred to, was *Isaac Hamilton*. Mr. Loring (*Field Book*, II., p. 588) says Major Moncreiffe commanded, but a reference to Lieut. Gov. Colden's despatch to Earl of Dartmouth, May 3, 1775, will disprove that statement.

<sup>3</sup> The Barracks were in "the Field"—as the Park was then called—occupying a place on a line with Chambers street, near the site lately occupied by "the New City Hall."

<sup>4</sup> The Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, on Wednesday, May 10, 1775.

shortly to meet in Phyladelphia. The sacred honor of the Citizens being pledged at the same time to support the measures of Congress. This Committee amount to 100<sup>1</sup> was Instantly Choosen and entering with becoming deliberation on the duties Delagated to them restored as much order in the city as under circumstances so new and extraordinary could be reasonably expected<sup>2</sup>—It is proper

<sup>1</sup> The following gentlemen constituted this “*Committee of One Hundred,*” as it was called: Isaac Low, *Chairman*; John Jay, Petr V. B Livingston, Philip Livingston, Isaac Scars, David Johnson, James Duane, Alexr McDougal, John Broom, John Alsop, Thomas Randall, Leonard Lifpenard, William Walton, Joseph Hallett, Gabriel H. Ludlow, Nicholas Hoffman, Abraham Walton, Henry Remsen, Petr Van Schaack, Peter T. Curtenius, Joseph Bull, Abraham Brasfer, Abraham P Lott, Abraham Duryee, Francis Lewis, Joseph Totten, Thomas Ivers, Hercules Mulligam, John Anthony, Francis Baffett, Victor Bicker, Theophilus Antony, John White, William Goforth, William Denning, Isaac Roofevelt, Jacob. Van. Voorhees, Jeremiah Platt, Comfort Sands, Robert Benson, Willm W. Gilbert, John Berrien, Gabriel. W. Ludlow, Nicholas Roofevelt, Frede Jay, Edward Fleming, Lawrence Embree, Samuel Jones, John Delancey, William W. Ludlow, John B Moore, Rudolphus Ritzema, Lindley Murray, John Lasher, Lancaster Burling, George Janaway, James Beekman, Samuel Verplanck, Richard Yates, David Clarkon, Thomas Smith, James Desbrosses, Eleazer Miller, Augustus Van Horn, Garrat Keteltas, John Read, Benjamin Kiffam, John Moran Scott, Peter Goelet, Cornelius Clopper, John Van Cortlandt, John Marfion, Jacobus Van Zandt, Gerardus Dyckman, John Morton, Thomas Marfion, George Folliot, Jacobus Lefferts, Richard Sharp, Hamilton Young, William Seton, Abraham Brinkerhoff, Benjamin Helme, Robert Ray, Walter Franklin, David Beekman, Evert Banker, Mich<sup>ls</sup> Bogert, William Laight, Samuel Broom, John Lamb, Daniel Phœnix, Anthony Van Dam, Daniel Dunfcomb, John Imlay, Oliver Templeton, Lewis Pintard, Cornelius P Low, Petrus Byvank, Thomas Buchannan. [*London Papers, XLV.*]

<sup>2</sup> “You will not be surprisid to hear that congresses and committees are now established in this Province, and are acting with all the confidence and



here to observe that the City of New York Contained a very larg portion of perional Influence in favour of the measures of the British Government and many of the persons choaten on the Committee were of that description'. The very strong Current of popolar Influence however which pervaded as soon as adviſe of the affair at Lexington arrived kept that Influence in sufficient Check while its tendency to Lengthen deliberation was not without use and operated more powerfully in support of the doings of the Committee—The British troops Garisoned in the city were Ordered to Join the army at Botton. It would have been an easy business to made them prisoners. The timid disposition of the Committee Caused them to suppose this could not be effected without the loss of a number of lives, and agreed to let them depart with their arms and acoutraments without Molestation. They accordingly marched from the barracks to embark about Ten oClock in the forenoon of a fine pleatiant day<sup>1</sup> There was a public house near Beekman Slip kept by a Mr Jasper Drake<sup>2</sup>. At this house the warm friends of the opposition to the British measures used to meet daily. I was at that place with about half dozen more when word was brought that the

authority of a legal government.”—*Lt. Gov. Colden to Earl of Dartmouth, 7 June, 1775* (Colden MSS. New York Historical Society's Library).

<sup>1</sup> A very large proportion of “the Committee of One Hundred,” as well as the “Committee of Fifty,” which succeeded it, were friends of government.

<sup>2</sup> June 6, 1775.—*Lt. Gov. Colden to Earl of Dartmouth, June 7.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* page 61.

troops had Commenced their march. And that beside the arms and acoutraments they carried they were taking with them fundry Carts Loaded with Chests filled with arms—As we were among the number of those who consider the permitting the troops to depart at any rate when we had it in our power to make them Prisoners proceeded from fear or something worse and as the permission given by the Committee did not extend to their taking any spare arms with them It was suddenly determin to hazard the Consequence of endeavouring to seize upon these spare arms. The persons present by agreement set out on different routs through the City to alarm our friends. My rout led me to pass the Coffee-house<sup>1</sup> where after notifying the measure about to be pursued I proceeded through Water Street to the Exchange which then stood at the Lower End of Broad Street from whence I discovered the Troops on their March down Broad Street I proceeded up the Street and on discovering several Carts Loaded with Chests of arms in front of the troops under a small Guard I stopt the front Horse which of Course caused a halt in the whole line of march. On the appearance of the Commanding officer to Enquire into the cause of the halt I informed him that the permission of the Committee did not extend to the troops taking with them any other arms than those they carried about them—The appearance of David Mathews who had lately

<sup>1</sup> Corner of Wall and Water Streets, on the site now occupied by the office of the *Journal of Commerce*.



been appointed Mayor of the City<sup>1</sup> (and whole tory principals were well known to be opposed to Congregational measures) diverted the Conversation from the Commanding officer of the troops to himself—The halt of the troops afforded time for the Collection of the Citizens. The Carts loaded with arms were turned out of the line of march. And the troops under arms addressed with an Invitation to such as disliked the Service in which they were to recover their arms And receive the protection of the Citizens who considered them as Bretheren of the same family. But if their sentiments corroborated with the Violent measures of the British Government and they were disposed to Join in the Barbarous work of shedding the blood of their fellow citizens we were ready to meet them in the Crimion field. One of the Soldiers recovering his arms was received with repeated huzzas and Led away by the Exulting citizens, some few afterwards followed and were Conducted with the taken arms to a place of Safety<sup>2</sup>. The troops marched to the river and embarked under the Hisses of the citizens<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Willett's memory had failed to render good service in this instance. Whitehead Hicks—at the period referred to, and until February, 1776—was the mayor of the city; and David Matthews, in April and May, 1775, was alderman of the East Ward, in which capacity he *may* have been present.

<sup>2</sup> To the ball-alley and yard of Abraham Van Dyck, corner of Broadway and John street, as will appear from the accompanying statement, page 65.

<sup>3</sup> "General Gage wrote to Major Hamilton, by the *Aria*, that he thought it would be a proper measure to put the Troops under his command on Board of that Ship, and desired him to consult with me upon it. As I was very

[The following lines, also taken from the autograph of Colonel Willett, appear to have been part of another version of "*the Broad Street affair.*" Although there are many particulars which have appeared in the preceding narrative, there are, also, some which are not related in that; and it has been considered proper to publish both, rather than to mutilate either of them.]

The particulars attending this transaction will I trust Justify the account I shall give of it; Similar sensations with those

sensible this small number of Troops (*one hundred*) could not be of any use in the Barracks, and were exposed to those very disagreeable circumstances I have already mentioned, I did not doubt of the propriety of the measure proposed by Genl Gage a difficulty however arose on account of the women and Children, who were too numerous to be taken on Board with the men, almost the whole that belong to the Regiment being in the Barracks here with this detachment. This occasioned a delay of eight or ten days in which time several soldiers deserted. We at length thought of enchamping the Women and Children on what is called the Governors Island, till they could be otherwise taken care of, and yesterday was fixed for embarking the Troops on Board the Asia. The Provincial Congress had notice, that some people proposed to stop the embarkation upon which they published a hand Bill advising the People by no means to molest the Troops, or interrupt them in their design. They likewise appointed a number of their members to join the City Magistrates and assist them in preventing any interruption to the Troops. As soon as the Troops marched from the Barracks, several People began to harangue them, exhorting them to desert, and assuring them of sufficient Protection. Two or three fellows had the hardiness to turn off with their arms, from the Ranks, and were immediately carried away by the People, when the Troops got upon the Dock where they were to embark on board of Boats, the Carts following in the rear with their Baggage, were stopp'd and in the Face of the Mayor, Aldermen, Congress and Committee men, turn'd about by a few desperate fellows, carried to a Place in Town, where they opened the Baggage, and took out a number of spare arms and all the ammunition belonging to the Detachment. The Troops embark'd without their Baggage."—*Lt. Gov. Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth, June 7, 1775* (Colden MS. New York Historical Society Library).

by which I was governed at that time I have experienced on several trying occasions and never failed terminating successfully. It is an Enthufism with which Soldiers cannot be too much inspired when entering into action: Indeed more or less of this Enthufism should govern every step of a Soldier desirous of achieving fame. The sentiment common in an army that he is a good Soldier who does what he is ordered will seldom procure that fame which ought to be the soldiers Glory. To arrive at this Goal it is necessary not only to obey orders but to seek occasions of performing Enterprises by voluntary services and by projecting plans for annoying the Enemy—The measure directed by the Committee (who were vested with the Government of the city) to suffer the British troops to depart unmolested with their arms and accoutrements tho no doubt a proper one was not universally approved of, and as soon as it was announced that the troops were on their march and were taking with them several Carts loaded with spare arms a sudden determination of a few persons who were then assembled at a Mr Jesper Darkes who kept a public house in Water Street near Beekman slip were the most zealous partizans in the cause of Liberty used to have daily and nightly meetings. It was about 12 oClock M: when the account of this movement of the troops was brought to Mr Drakes at which place I happened to be at the time, and with the others then at that house set out to alarm the citizens in order to Collect force to prevent

the troops from carrying those spare arms with them. The way I took and the dispatch I made brought me to the front of the troops as they were marching, before any of the other persons who set out on the same business; On my arrival in their front which was at the Corner of Beaver street in Broad street I stopped the horse that was drawing the front Cart-load of arms. This of course occasioned a halt in the Troops. And brought the Major of the regiment<sup>1</sup> who was the commanding officer in front to enquire into the cause of the halt. I had the horse by the head and on the appearance of the Major informed him that the halt was made to prevent the spare arms from being carried off, as the act of the Committee did not authorise the troops taking any other arms than such as they carried on their backs, while I was making this explanation to the Major David Mathews Esquire who was at that time Mayor of the city<sup>2</sup> came up And accosted me in the following words I am surpris'd Mr Willett that you will hazard the peace and endanger the lives of our citizens when you know that the Committee have directed that the troops shall be permitted to depart unmolested, as Mr Mathews was a Tory and zealous supporter of the measures of the British Government His presence or opinion could have no Influence

<sup>1</sup> Major Hamilton was appointed lieutenant in this regiment, October 1, 1755; captain, March 4, 1760; and major, December 16, 1764. He came to America with it in the latter year, and left the army in July, 1775. —*Army Lists.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* note 1, page 59.

with me, and I very unhesitatingly assured him that his surprise was not to surprise me that the Committee had not authorized the carrying off any spare arms. That considering the Bloody business which had taken place among our Bretheren in Masséchusettes whom we were bound by the ties of honor as well as Interest to support, I deemed it my duty to prevent those arms from being used against them and conceived that it would be much more reputable for us to employ them in the defence of our Injured Country. While this question was agitating with the Major and the Mayor, Mr Gouverneur Morris' made his appearance, And to my great astonishment Joined the Mayor in opinion. Mr Morris's situation was very different from that of the Mayors, He was a Whig of very respectable Connections and tho young of Brilliant talents—To be opposed by Mr. Morris stagard me—And I doubt whether all my Zeal and Enthusiasm would supported me had it not been for the arrival at that Critical moment of John Morine Scott?

<sup>1</sup> Gouverneur Morris was born at Morristown, N. Y., January 31, 1752, and graduated at King's College, in New York, in 1768. He studied law with William Smith; in May, 1775, was chosen a member of the Provincial Congress; and in October, 1777, a member of the Continental Congress. He represented Pennsylvania in the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution; in 1792, was appointed a minister plenipotentiary to France, where he remained until October, 1794; and in 1800, was chosen a senator from New York in the federal councils. He was one of the earliest and most ardent of the friends of the canal system of New York; and November 6, 1816, he died full of years and of honors.

<sup>2</sup> John Morin Scott, one of the earliest, most able, and most determined of "the Sons of Liberty" in New York, was born in that city in 1730, and

who was an Influential member of the Committee and whose reputation for talents was as great as any in the city; He came up Just as I was repeating to Mr. Morris the reasons of my conduct And Exclaimed in a Loud voice you are right Willett the committee have not given them permission to carry off any spare arms. By this time the throng of people around us had greatly Increased and were pressing in on every side. Mr. Scott's opinion was scarcely proclaimed when I turned the front Cart to the right and directed the Cartman to drive up Beaver Street. the other Carts which were Loaded with arms were made to follow and on the suggestion of Mr Scott that it would be proper to address the troops I Jumped on a Cart, and after observing to them that if it was their desire to Join the Bloody business which was transacting near Boston, we were ready to meet them in the Sanguin field, But that if any of them felt a repugnance to the unnatural work of shedding the blood of their Countrymen and would recover their arms and march forward they should be protected One of the fol-

graduated at Yale College in 1746. He adopted the profession of the law, and soon became one of the leading members of the provincial bar, where many of the ablest minds of America were then practising. He was one of the earliest opponents of the government, and in 1775 he was a member of the Provincial Congress; on the 9th of June, 1776, he was appointed brigadier general of the provincial troops, with whom he was engaged in the battle of Long Island; and in March, 1777, he left the service to become secretary of state of New York. In 1782 and 1783 he served in the Continental Congress; and on the 14th of September, 1784, he died in the city of New York.—Loring's "*Field Book*," II., p. 805.



diers recovering his arms and marching forward was received by three hearty Huzzas and together with the Carts five in number loaded with Chelts of arms Conducted with the continual Huzzas of the Citizens through Beaver Street & up the Broad Way as far as the Corner of John Street where there was a Ball alley and Large Yard belonging to Mr Abraham Van Dyck who was a good Whig a pleasant faracious agreeable man—and who afterwards when the British troops took possession of New York was made a prisoner and suffered a long & Cruel Captivity—In this yard the arms were deposited. These arms and those taken possession of on the arrival of the account of the Battle of Lexington were employed by the first troops raised in New York under the orders of Congress.<sup>1</sup> The troops receiving no other Impediment agreeable to the act of the Committee Marched to the Wharf and embarked. Altho I have no disposition to Center the act of the Committee Yet I was then and am still of opinion that it would have been as easy to have made prisoners of the whole of the troops as it was to take from them these spare arms. But the Idea of a Compromise with the British Government pervaded our councils, and checked the adoption of spirited measures.

<sup>1</sup> The first regiment of "the New York line" was that of which Alexander McDougal was colonel; Rudolphus Ritzema, lieutenant colonel; and Frederick Weiffenfels, major.

## THE HICKEY PLOT.

### I. LETTER FROM PETER T. CURTENIUS TO RICHARD VARICK.

[This letter was written by Peter T. Curtenius, the commissary general of the New York line, to Colonel Richard Varick, and relates to the so-called "HICKEY PLOT." That conspiracy, which had been organized by Governor Tryon from his retreat on "*The Ducheys of Gordon*," aimed at a delivery of the city and the army to the royal forces; and its discovery was productive of the most intense excitement. The most exaggerated accounts were spread throughout the country, such as this letter must have produced wherever it was read; and the Provincial Congress of New York, by a committee which it had previously appointed "for the hearing and trying disaffected persons and those of equivocal characters," investigated the subject in its minutiae.

As is customary in such cases, especially when the parties employed have been taken, as was the case in this plot, from the beer-houses and "low places" of the country, the leaders escaped the just penalty of their crimes by becoming witnesses against their comrades; and of all the conspirators, one only, an Irishman named THOMAS HICKEY, a private in the ranks of General Washington's body guard, was capitally punished.

Interesting accounts of the plot may be found in Gordon's "American Revolution" (ed. London, 1788,) II., pp. 276, 277; Marshall's "Washington," II., p. 392; Irving's "Washington," II., pp. 242-246; "Proceedings of the Committee for the Hearing," etc., June 22-26, 1776; "Minutes of the General Court Martial which tried Thomas Hickey," etc.]

N YORK June 22<sup>d</sup> 1776—

SR

Inclosed is Cap<sup>t</sup> Staat's Rec<sup>t</sup> for a tent &c which please to Endorse on the back that you have received it. Your father is well who was at my house yesterday. Your good



mother & the rest of the family are also in good health, having seen them a few days ago at Hackintack.

Last night was discovered a most infernal plott against the lives of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington & Putnem &c—Some of the Villains concerned are in safe custody among them are Mr Matthews our Mayor<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Forbes a Gunsmith.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> David Matthews was appointed Mayor upon the resignation of Whitehead Hicks, in February, 1776, and was among those who were implicated in the intricacies of the Hickey plot. There is nothing in the evidence, however, which justifies the suspicion that he was really concerned in it, beyond acting as a messenger in delivering money to Forbes from Tryon. He was removed into Connecticut, and held in close custody there for some time; but he was subsequently released, and held the office of Registrar in Admiralty, in 1782, under the British authority.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Forbes was a gunsmith doing business opposite to Hull's Tavern, No. 18 Broadway. It has been said by some that he was an Irishman; but his father, who died in 1769, had been a resident of New York for many years, and had done a large business as a hardware merchant.

Gilbert appears to have been an early participant in the plot, if not one of the originators of the scheme; and through his hands the money, which had been provided by the enemy, passed into those of the recruits. The latter appear also to have taken the oath of allegiance before him; and to some extent, at least, he appears to have directed the proposed operations of the conspirators.

When the plot had been discovered, he was arrested and thrown into irons, steadily refusing to divulge the secrets which he possessed; but a short time afterward, when Mr. Livingston visited him under the pretence of sympathizing with him in view of his approaching execution, he begged permission to go before the Congress and to divulge all he knew about the matter. His proposition appears to have been accepted; and his testimony will be found in the report of the trial of Hickey by a general court martial, on the 26th of June, as well as before a committee of the Provincial Congress of New York on the 29th of the same month; and he appears to have escaped punishment probably through this means.

He is described as "a short thick man, with a white coat."

a fifer & Drum<sup>r</sup> of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washingtons Guard<sup>l</sup> &c the particulars are not yet Transpiered, the culprits are to be examin<sup>d</sup> before congres this day<sup>2</sup> thus much is transpiered (from officers who were employed to apprehend them), that a great sum was offered to assassinate Gen<sup>ls</sup> Washington & Putnam<sup>3</sup>, that a plan was found in their possession of all the fortifications,<sup>4</sup> That whilst the Regulars made the attack some persons were to blow up the powder house<sup>5</sup> & others were to destroy Kings brige to prevent reenforcements coming in from New England<sup>6</sup> In short the plott

<sup>1</sup> The *drummer* was "William Green," who appears to have been very active, administering the oath of allegiance to the less fortunate Hickey, and receiving a brokerage of "one dollar per man from Forbes for every man he shall enlist." As he was the leading witness against Hickey, when the latter was tried before the court martial, there is no doubt that he escaped the punishment which was so justly his due.

The fifer was James Johnson, but he does not appear to have taken any active part in the conspiracy.

<sup>2</sup> The prisoners were examined by a committee of the Provincial Congress of New York: Philip Livingston, John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, Joseph Hallett, Thomas Tredwell, Lewis Graham, and Leonard Gansevoort, constituting the committee.

<sup>3</sup> There does not appear in evidence any such purpose on the part of the conspirators, although rumors of the day were numerous and decided.

<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence of such "a plan" having been found on any person; nor is there much reason to believe that such a plan existed, or was necessary, where all concerned were residents of the city, or had been within a short time, and knew all the localities which would have appeared on such a plan.

<sup>5</sup> "The powder house" in question stood on the south-western bank of "The Fresh-water," near the present junction of Centre and Pearl streets. There is no allusion to any proposed destruction of the magazine in any part of the evidence which was taken at that time.

<sup>6</sup> The drummer, William Green, in his testimony taken before the court

was a most damnable one & I hope that the Villains may receive a punishment equal to perpetual Itching without the benefit of scratching

I am Sr your most

Obed Servt,

PETER T. CURTENIUS.<sup>1</sup>

martial which tried Hickey, testified that "all that Forbes proposed to me was, that when the king's forces arrived, we *should cut away King's Bridge*, and then go on board a ship of war, which would be in the East River to receive us." Gilbert Forbes, the gunsmith, when examined before the Provincial Congress, after narrating the plans of the conspirators in their designs upon different parts of the island, testified, "that should they gain possession of the places above-mentioned, their next object would be the grounds adjacent to King's Bridge, where they intend to erect strong works, *just as to cut off the communication between the city and country.*"

<sup>1</sup>Peter Theobaldus Curtenius was born in the city of New York in 1734, and was the son of the Rev. Anthony Curtenius, a clergyman of the Dutch Church, who came from Holland some years previous, and at the time of his death, in October, 1756, was settled over a congregation in Kings county. The genealogical tree of the family commences with Peter Curtenius, born 1590, at Zingoon, in the district named Curten, three miles from Eberfield, and is continued down to 1734.

Peter T. Curtenius, before and at the time of the Revolution, was a merchant in the city of New York. In August, 1755, he married Miss Catharine Goelet, the daughter of Phillipus Goelet of said city. No higher meed of praise can be bestowed on him than to say that he was a true friend of his country, and an ardent patriot in the day of the Revolution. In 1774, he was an active member of the committee of correspondence with the sister colonies, appointed by the citizens of New York,<sup>1</sup> and in May, 1775, he was chosen on the general committee of the city and county. During the war he held the office of Commissary General, with the rank of colonel under the Provincial Congress, as appears by numerous letters as such with the com-

(1) See *American Colonial Archives*, 4th series, vol. 1, pages 293 to 357, as to the committee and proceeding.

II. JOHN VARICK, JR., TO CAPT. RICHARD VARICK, SECRETARY TO GENERAL SCHUYLER AT ALBANY.

NEW YORK June 25th 1776 Tuesday

Dear Brother

Since my last, Matters here, have taken a new Turn; for one fourth of the Citizens have been oblig'd

mittee and Congress, found in the "American Colonial Archives" and "The Colonial Documents" published by the state of New York, from which it appears that to supply the wants of the army, he was compelled to make large advances from his own means and on his own credit. At one time, when the resources and credit of Congress had entirely failed, and a supply of clothing and shoes for a destitute army was absolutely required, Colonel Curtenius converted his own house and store on the corner of Liberty street and Broadway, into money, and expended the amount of sixteen hundred pounds towards purchasing these necessary supplies for its relief; which, at the close of the war, was refunded to him by the general government, in Continental money of no value. It is related of him that he was unwilling to wear any article of foreign manufacture, and that his wedding-suit was of domestic stuff. In 1792, the legislature created the office of state auditor, and Colonel Curtenius was appointed to the office, and continued to hold it until 1797, when the office of comptroller was created in its place.

He died in the city of New York, of the yellow fever, in 1798, and was buried in the vault at the entrance of the Middle Dutch Church, on Cedar street, where his remains rested until 1857, when, with the remains of his son, General Peter Curtenius (who died in 1817), they were removed to Beechwood Cemetery in New Rochelle, and deposited with the remains of his daughter, Mrs. Jane Roosevelt, in the vault of her family.

He left him surviving, his wife, who lived until 1806, and his children—General Peter Curtenius, who was appointed United States marshal by Jefferson, in 1806, and continued to about the close of the war of 1812; Jane Roosevelt, the wife of Elbert Roosevelt, late of Pelham; Catharine Dunlap, the wife of the Rev. John Dunlap, late of Cambridge, Washington county,

(1) See "Archives," 4th series, vol. 2, pages 1124 and 1337.

to turn out, either as Volanteers, or by Draught, in Confequence of the Exprefs from the Continental Congress.<sup>1</sup> The first Batalion is to have its Number compleated out of thofe that have been draughted & be commanded by Col: Lathier<sup>2</sup>.—Eighteen of the Fusileer Company, turn'd out Volanteers and the remainder were draughted<sup>3</sup>.—I hap-

New York; and Mary and Elizabeth, unmarried; all of whom are also deceafed. There are none of the name now known in the United States, except his grandchildren, viz.: John L. Curtenius, of the city of Buffalo; Henry R. Curtenius and Frederick W. Curtenius, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, and their children, and thofe of Alfred G. Curtenius, late of Peoria, Illinois, deceafed.

On the 9th day of July, 1776, the equeftrian ftatue of King George the III., placed on a pedeftal in the Bowling Green in New York city, was, by the Sons of Freedom, proftated to the earth, and out of its materials 42,088 cartridge were fupplied with ball, and thus returned to the loyal fubjects of his majesty. The pedeftal remained until after 1820. In this tranfaction Colonel Curtenius is ftated to have been one of the leading fpirits.

<sup>1</sup> "All the male inhabitants between fixteen and fixty years of age, were fubject" to thefe drafts. — *Case of William Butler, Adj. Gen. (Townfhip MSS.)*

<sup>2</sup> This regiment was compofed of the "Independent Four Companies" then exifting in this city. They were the Grenadier Company, the Fuziliers, the German Fuzilier, the Union Company, the Sportfman Company, the Corticans, the Bold Forrefter, the Light Infantry, the Oswago Rangers, two companies of Artillery, and a company of Rangers. The uniform of the companies were different—no two companies appear to have worn the fame uniform; and the officers embraced the moft refpectable citizens, many of them members of the "Sons of Liberty." Among the line officers were Abraham Brasher, Rudolphus Ritzema, Samuel Brome, William Malcolm, Nicholas Rooftvelt, Frederic Jay, Frederic De Peyfter, Marinus Willett, Jeremiah Wool, and Nicholas Bogart.

<sup>3</sup> "The Fusileer Company" here fpoken of was Captain Ritzema's company, of which Henry G. Livingfton, Andrew Latt, and James Van Zandt, were lieutenants. Its uniform was blue, with red facings. The cap was

pen'd to be included amongst the Draughts; for the Engagement I am under to the Doctor<sup>1</sup>, & the Care of the House will hardly admit Me, to be a Soldier, 'tho it has fallen to my Lott, much less to turn out as Volunteer. I am almost determin'd to get a Man in my Place, till such Times, as I may with Honor & Justice to Myself be absolv'd from that Engagement; and then I will with all imaginable Pleasure repair to my Company again, and un-

of bear skin. On the cap and pouch were brass plates, bearing the word, "Fuziliers," and encircling the last, "*Salus populi suprema lex est.*"

<sup>1</sup> "*The Doctor.*" This refers to Dr. Middleton, with whom Mr. Varick and others were pursuing their medical studies. On the 26th of April, Dr. Middleton, from prudential motives—he being a Tory, as will be seen from this letter—suddenly sailed for Bermuda, "in company with Ld. Drummond, John McAdam, and Harry Nicolls," leaving his house, library, instruments, and bills receivable in the hands of Mr. Varick and his fellow-student, Charles Mitchell, while his family removed to Flushing, Long Island. Speaking of the privileges thus afforded him, Mr. Varick, in a previous letter, says, "now that we had Peace, I'd engage that I would make such use of my Time, as would be of infinite Service to Me. But Oh the Times, the Times, have such an Effect on Me, that all my Reading and Studying prove of little Advantage."

Peter Middleton, M. D., was a native of Scotland, and a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. He came to New York in 1752, and very soon after occupied a high rank in his profession. In 1767, he was appointed Professor of the Theory of Physic in King's College. He was the physician of Governor Tryon, and by permission of the Provincial Congress of New York, he was on the 13th of February, 1776, permitted to visit his excellency on board the ship "Duchess of Gordon." On the 21st of February, he was allowed to continue his professional visits "untill the further order of this Congress." He published several important papers on medical subjects, and died in the city of New York, in January, 1781, of schirrus of the stomach.



dergo with becoming Affligation, & Willingnets, in Conjunction with my fellow Soldiers; whatever Duty and Hardship may be affign'd for them. But now the Consideration of the Pledge I made of my Honor & Fidelity to the Doctor, is of so great Moment to me, that it renders Part of my Life uncomfortable, lest I should be in any one Point deficient in the Discharge of my Duty.

Last Friday I had the Pleasure of receiving a Letter from the Doct<sup>r</sup>. dated Bermuda May 13th. He makes mention that he intended to return in a few Weeks, but I am inclin'd to think that He'll avoid coming to this City, if he hears how the Tories have been treated here, till Matters are in Some Measure come to a Determination. From what he writes & from the Things he has left behind Him I have great reason to conclude that he really intended to return at the Time limited, notwithstanding the Intimations of those who pretended to know to the contrary, for I was satisfi'd that it was inconsistent with that Frankness which the Doctor is distinguish'd by, that he should be guilty of such Deceit towards Us. When to expect Him I am at a Loss, but I am determin'd to send his medical Books and Surgical Instruments to Hackinsack, that if I should, in short get clear of the Army, and the Doct<sup>r</sup>. not return, I may have them at my Command, & the Perusal of them.

Gov<sup>r</sup> Trion<sup>1</sup> has given evident Proofs how he intends to

<sup>1</sup> William Tryon was commissioned captain in the First Foot Guards, Oct.

fight against Us (altho' he pledged every Thing that is honorable to the contrary) by engaging Gill: Forbes with large Sums of Money, to procure Rifle Guns & Musquets for Him<sup>1</sup>; & likewise engaging Forbes in a Plot to assassinate and massacre his fellow Citizens<sup>2</sup>; But how happily it was discover'd. This is the Rascal in whom all Confidence was put, & in whom the utmost Fidelity was reposed; that he would procure Peace & be the Means of reinstating this Province in a state of perfect Happiness, if it could by any Means be accomplish'd. How has he abused that Confidence? which has perverted all the Love & Respect he once enjoy'd amongst the Inhabitants of this Province, in the most insuperable Hatred. Last Saturday afternoon, by order of Congress, a Detachment of 14 Men

12, 1751. In October, 1764, he was appointed lieutenant governor of North Carolina, and succeeded Governor Dobbs as governor in July, 1765. In July, 1771, he was transferred to the government of New York, where his career was productive of no honor to himself or benefit to the colony. On the 25th May, 1772, he was appointed colonel in the army; on the 8th June, 1775, third major in the Guards; on the 29th August, 1777, major general of the army; and on the 14th May, 1778, colonel of the 70th regiment of the line. Having resigned the nominal office of governor of New York, on the 21st March, 1780, and returned to England, he was appointed lieutenant general of the army, November 20, 1782, and colonel of the 29th regiment, on the 16th August, 1783. He died in London, January 27th, 1788.

<sup>1</sup> Governor Tryon had employed Forbes to make a number of rifles and muskets; and the payment for them was made through David Matthews, mayor of the city, as appeared from the testimony which was offered on the trial of Thomas Hickey.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Note 3, page 68.



(amongst whom I was included) under Capt W<sup>m</sup>. Livingston was sent over to Long-Island, in Pursuit of one who was accused of being concern'd in this cursed Plot. We rid all Saturday Night, & Sunday Morning half after three we arrived at the Place we were order'd for: But could not find the Man: in our return we met one on the road who answer'd in every Respect the Description given of Him, which made Us conclude that he must be the Person we were in Quest of. We return'd safe on Sunday Evening being much fatigued, having had no Sleep while out. Inquiry being made, the Man was found innocent and acquitted. This is the first Expedition any part of the Batalion has been on since they have become Provincial Soldiers; and I think the Fusileers deserve the Honor of initiating Such Expeditions.

Capt. Wm. Livingston was yesterday chosen by a Majority of Votes of the officers of the first Batalion as Major, in Preference to Capt. Jno. Roosevelt<sup>1</sup>, who has been a nominal one since the Batalion has been in Pay. Wm. Wileocks succeeds Wm Livingston as Capt. & Ralph Thurman who was a few Days since a Private, steps in as First Lieut. What large strides some of the Privates in the Fusileer Coomp<sup>s</sup> have already taken to Popularity.

from Yours most affectionately

JOHN VARICK JUN<sup>r</sup>

Capt. R<sup>d</sup>. Varick<sup>2</sup> Albany

Captain John Roosevelt was captain of the Oswago Rangers.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Richard Varick was born in 1752, and was educated for the bar. When the colonial troubles broke out, he tendered his services to General

III. LETTER FROM SOLOMON DROWNE<sup>1</sup>, M. D., TO MISS  
SALLY DROWNE, OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

NEW YORK June 24th 1776.

Dear Sister

\* \* \* \* \*

A most infernal Plot has lately been discovered here, which, had it been put in Execution, wou'd have made

Schuyler, and was appointed military secretary of that officer. He remained in that department after the removal of General Schuyler from that command, until after the surrender of General Burgoyne, in 1777; when he was appointed inspector general of the troops in the Highlands. After the defection of General Arnold, Colonel Varick entered the military family of General Washington, where he remained until the close of the war.

On the restoration of peace, he became recorder of New York; in 1789, he was appointed attorney general of the state; and, in the same year, mayor of New York, which latter office he held during twelve years.

He was president of the Society of the Cincinnati during upwards of thirty years; and, on the decease of Mr. Boudinot, he was elected president of the American Bible Society.

He died at Jersey City, July 30, 1831.

<sup>1</sup>Solomon Drowne, M. D., was born in Providence, Rhode Island, March 11th, 1753. His father, Solomon Drowne, senior, was a merchant of Providence, and for more than half a century one of its prominent citizens. At the age of twenty, the son graduated at Brown University, and soon after commenced the study of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Drowne served for several years as surgeon in the Revolutionary Army. From his letters written at that period, it appears that he arrived in New York, June 3d, 1776; called the next day upon Dr. John Morgan, director general of the hospitals; and on the day following (the 5th) entered the service of the United States, as surgeon's mate in the general hospital. He was in this city at the time of its evacuation by the American troops, and remained at the hospital among the last, packing up the medicines, until the British were so near, that the boat in which he embarked up the North River

America tremble: and been as fatal a stroke to us (*this country*;) as Gun-Powder Treason would to England, had it succeeded. The Hellish Conspirators were a Number of Tories (the Mayor of y<sup>e</sup> City among them) and three of Gen<sup>l</sup> Wallington's Life-Guards. The Plan was to kill Generals Wallington and Putnam, and as many other commanding officers as possible.—I thoud' have mentioned

was only about two gun-shots ahead of them. He was stationed at Westchester, North Castle, and other places in the state of New York, and at Norwalk, in Connecticut. His letters to his family in Providence, while in the public service, breathe the purest patriotic ardor; and though they occasionally allude to privations and the sad scenes of hospital life, they at the same time evince that his duty to his country was invariably uppermost in his heart. In fact, whilst engaged in his professional studies before coming to New York, he took an active interest in the military affairs of his native city, Providence, preparing, as it was, for the revolutionary struggle; and assisted, himself, in throwing up the fortifications in that vicinity. In 1777, he was in the Rhode Island State Hospital for seven months; still later, he was surgeon for a similar period to Colonel Cray's regiment; and in August, 1778, was in Sullivan's expedition against Rhode Island, where he also performed active service. After this, he was stationed for a time at Bristol, Rhode Island; and on the 3d of August, 1780, he was appointed surgeon to Lieutenant Colonel Atwell's regiment.

At the conclusion of the war, Dr. Drowne entered upon the practice of his profession in Providence. In 1784, he visited the hospitals and medical schools of London and Paris, for the purpose of prosecuting still further his medical studies. Shortly after his return he journeyed to Ohio, and resided for nearly a year at Marietta, where, on the 13th of January, 1789, he delivered a funeral address on General Varnum; and on April 7th of the same year, an oration in commemoration of the settlement of that place by the Ohio Company. Subsequently he resumed his practice at Providence; but in consequence of ill-health, removed again to the West in 1792, and settled for a time at Morgantown, Va.; and after the border incursions of the Indians were over, he proceeded to Union, Penn. Here he delivered a funeral

at firſt,—to ſet the City on fire in nine ſeveral Places.—To ſpike up the Cannon: Then to give a Signal to the Aſia and Ships expected;—and blow up the magazine. They had a large Body of Men, which were to attack ours amidſt their Confuſion. The whole was diſcovered (as I am informed) by a ſerjeant of y<sup>e</sup> Guards, whom they wanted to take into the Plot, and who, having got what he cou'd from them, diſcovered all to the General. The Drummer of y<sup>e</sup> Guards was to have ſtabb'd y<sup>e</sup> General. The pretty

addreſs on General Washington, “in conformity to the Proclamation of the Preſident of the United States,” February 22, 1800. In 1801, he retraced his ſteps to Rhode Iſland, and ſettled in the town of Foſter, where he paſſed the remainder of his days engaged in professional and agricultural purſuits, and in the cultivation of his taſte for botany and elegant letters. In 1811, he was appointed profeſſor of Materia Medica and Botany in Brown Univerſity, and gave courſes of lectures in that inſtitution for many years. The Rhode Iſland Medical Society (of which Dr. Drowne was ſubſequentially vice-preſident), in 1819, choſe him a delegate to the convention which formed the National Pharmacopœia. At the requeſt of the citizens of Providence, on February 23d, 1824, he delivered an “oration in aid of the cauſe of the Greeks,” whoſe unequal ſtruggle with the Turks was at that time calling forth the ſympathy and aſſiſtance of this country. During the ſame year, he publiſhed a “Compendium of Agriculture, or the Farmer's Guide in the moſt eſſential parts of Huſbandry and Gardening;” and on ſeveral occaſions he delivered the annual addreſſes before the State Agricultural Society, in the organization and proceedings of which he bore an aſtive part.

Dr. Drowne was diſtinguiſhed not only in his profeſſion but as a lecturer and writer on botany, of which ſcience he was an enamored votary from early youth; and his occaſional orations, addreſſes, and literary and ſcientific papers, a large number of which have been publiſhed, won for him a high reputation as a finiſhed and erudite ſcholar. He died February 5th, 1834.

The preſent efficient Secretary of the National Fire Inſurance Company of the city of New York (Henry T. Drowne) is his grandſon.

Fellows are in safe Custody, and I hope I shall be able to give you a better account of them in my next. This Morning a large Guard went to take two hundred Tories who are under Arms not very far from this City. \* \* \*

Yours,

SOLOMON DROWNE.

IV. LETTER FROM SOLOMON DROWNE, M. D., TO WILLIAM DROWNE, ESQ., PROVIDENCE.

GENERAL HOSPITAL, N. YORK July 13<sup>th</sup> 1776.

Dear Billy,

\* \* \* \* \*

It is now almost Midnight, and but a little while since I returned to my Chamber from carrying Medicine to one of

<sup>1</sup> William Drowne, born in Providence, Rhode Island, April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1755, was the brother of Dr. Solomon Drowne. From early youth, he took an active interest in the military affairs of Rhode Island and Massachusetts; and was engaged in the service of his country during the Revolutionary War, in a variety of offices. On June 2d, 1775, he became an officer in the Mendon regiment (Colonel Read's), which was stationed at Roxbury, Massachusetts, and continued with the regiment until the close of the year. In January, 1776, his name heads the list of lieutenants of the Rhode Island Brigade. A year later he was adjutant of Colonel Bowen's regiment at Pawtuxet, Rhode Island; and in 1778, served as quartermaster general, with the rank of captain.

Mr. Drowne possessed an adventurous spirit, which led him at a later period to embark, on several occasions, in the private sloop-of-war that were fitted out from New England ports; and which often bravely contended with the enemy's armed vessels, thereby rendering efficient service to the United States. In his cruises in the privateer sloop "General Washington," of Providence, and the "Belisarius" of Boston, he kept private journals, in

y<sup>e</sup> Wards I have y<sup>e</sup> Care of, and applying a Poultrice to a Man's foot, over which a Gun Carriage run Yesterday, in the Battle with y<sup>e</sup> Ships; for a further account of which see Sally's Letter:—So you may judge how much time I have to write. \* \* \* \* \*

I heartily congratulate you, my dear Brother, on being an Inhabitant of y<sup>e</sup> Free an Independant States of America. I herewith fend you a Gazette which contains y<sup>e</sup> Declaration; and also an Extra<sup>d</sup> of a Letter from Philadelphia, which, if you have not had yet, shou'd be glad you wou'd shew Tommy Ruffell.

The Declaration was read, agreeable to general Orders, at y<sup>e</sup> Head of y<sup>e</sup> Brigade, &c. this week; and loud Huzzas express'd the approbation of y<sup>e</sup> Freeborn Bands.

The Night following, the famous gilded equestrian statue of y<sup>e</sup> British King, in this City, was levelled with y<sup>e</sup> Dust: his head taken off, and next morning, in a Wheel-Barrow carried to his Excellency's Quarters, I was told. There is a large Quantity of Lead about it, which is to be run into Bullets to destroy his Myrmidons. I suppose you have

which were noted down many occurrences of historical interest. While on board the Belisarius, during the summer of 1781, he was taken prisoner, carried to New York, and confined for three months in the foul and reeking hold of the Old Jersey prison ship. Here his health suffered extremely, until in November of that year he was permitted to be absent awhile at Newport, on parole. But the seeds of disease had become too deeply rooted in his previously robust constitution by this severe imprisonment, ever to be eradicated. He rallied from a painful illness only to linger along, with enfeebled health, until August, 1786, when he died. He was buried at Providence.

heard of y<sup>e</sup> Execution of one of the General's Guards, concerned in y<sup>e</sup> hellish Plot, discovered here some time past. There was a vast Concourse of People to see y<sup>e</sup> poor Fellow hanged.

\* \* \* \* \*

14th I heard this Evening, that Lord How had sent a Flag with a Letter directed to *George Washington Esq.*, and that it was returned unopened because he gave him not his proper title;—tho' y<sup>e</sup> Capt<sup>n</sup> that brought it said its Contents were of the utmost Importance, and that L<sup>d</sup> How was very sorry he had not arrived a few Days sooner (Perhaps before Independence was declared, for 'tis said he is invested with unlimited Power.) This may learn him a little Manners. Well; two Ships & 3 tenders up N. River:—Communication with Canada by water cut off:—Something important will turn up soon

\* \* \* \* \*

I am very tired, and it is past Midnight.

Write often to your Friend & Brother

SOLOMON DROWSE



## CORRESPONDENCE IN 1775-76.

[No form of record retains so much of freshness and lasting interest as that contained in private correspondence. Coming from the very times and the very spot which we are considering, it embodies the spirit of the hour with a fidelity which the more pains-taking and correct historian labors in vain to feize. The letters from which the following extracts are taken, were written in New York city at that anxious period which, following close upon the events of Lexington and Bunker Hill, preceded the battle of Long Island and the consequent evacuation, in September, 1776, of New York city by the American forces, who were no more to enter it until its final Evacuation by the British in November, 1783.]

GILBERT LIVINGSTON TO DR. PETER TAPPAN.

NEW YORK July 29th 1775.<sup>1</sup>

Dear Brother

You will see by the Warrants who are nominated officers for your County<sup>2</sup>, it is very likely we shall raise an additional number of Troops besides the 3000 now Raised We Expect all diligence will be used in Recruiting, that the Regiments may be formed immediately

Last Sunday about Two o'clock the Generals Washington Lee & Schuyler arrived here<sup>3</sup> they Crossed the North

<sup>1</sup> By referring to General Washington's letter to "the members of the Continental Congress, Philadelphia," dated "New York, 25 June, 1775," it will be seen that this date is *incorrect*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Tappan belonging to Poughkeepsie, in Dutchess county, this remark must refer to that county.

<sup>3</sup> The subject of the reception of General Washington at New York, while on his way to Boston, was one of unusual interest.



River at Hoback<sup>1</sup> & Landed at Coll Litpenards<sup>2</sup> there were 8 or 10 Companies under Arms all in Uniforms who Marched out to Litpenards, the procession began from there thus, the Companies first, Congress next two of Continental Congress next General Officers next & a Company of Horse from Philadelphia Who Came with the General brought up the Rear<sup>3</sup> there were an innumerable Company of people Men Women & Children present

in the evening Governor Tryon<sup>4</sup> landed as in the news paper<sup>5</sup> I walked with my Friend George Clinton<sup>6</sup> all the way to Litpenards — Who is now gone home

General Schuyler had written from Newark, requesting the Provincial Congress to send a delegation to meet the General; and Messrs. Smith, Holcutt, Gouverneur Morris, and Rich'd Montgomery, were appointed for that purpose.

The arrival of Governor Tryon at the same time was a source of embarrassment; and a curious and not very creditable spectacle was presented, the particulars of which afford a fair picture of the "*triumph*," propensities of many of the parties then in power in this colony.

<sup>1</sup> Hoboken.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Litpenard's residence, near which General Washington appears to have landed, was in the vicinity of Light Street, near Greenwich Street.

<sup>3</sup> The company of horse here referred to, was "a Troop of Gentlemen of the Philadelphia Light Horse, commanded by Capt. Markoe." It continued the escort to King's bridge, when it returned to the city, arriving here on Tuesday and remaining until Thursday, when it returned home.

<sup>4</sup> Governor William Tryon, who had arrived in the ship *Jubana*, Captain Montgomery, from London, landed at eight o'clock in the evening of the same day (*Sunday*, *June* 25), and was escorted by great numbers of people to the residence of the Hon. Hugh Wallace.

<sup>5</sup> Gaine, in his "*New York Gazette and Mercury*," does not allude to either of the arrivals referred to; Rivington, in his "*Gazetteer*" of the 28th June, gives an account of Tryon's reception.

<sup>6</sup> Subsequently Governor George Clinton.

I am Very Well hope all Friends fo, the Torys Catey<sup>1</sup> Writes are as Violent as ever,! poor Insignificant Souls, Who think themselves of great importance The Times will soon shew. I fancy that they must quit their Wicked Tenets, at least in pretence and shew fair, Let their Hearts be as Black as Hell. Go on, be spirited, & I doubt not, Success will Crown our Honest endeavours for the support of our Just Rights and Priviledges

\* \* \* \* \*

JOHN MORIN SCOTT<sup>2</sup> TO COLONEL RICHARD VARICK.

GREENWICH<sup>3</sup> NOV 15, 1775.

\* \* \* \* \*

Every office shut up almost but Sam. Jones's who will work for 6/ a day & Live accordingly—All Business stagnated the City half deserted for fear of a Bombardment—a new Congress elected—Those for New York you will see by the papers are changed for the better—All staunch Whigs now—How it is with the Convention I know not We have [not rec<sup>d</sup>] Returns—Yesterday the new Congress was to meet but I believe they did not

<sup>1</sup> "Catey," wife of Gilbert Livingston, and sister of the Dr. Tappan to whom this letter was written.

<sup>2</sup> Subsequently General John Morin Scott, for a biographical sketch of whom, see note 2, page 63.

<sup>3</sup> He resided in the seat since known as "*The Hermitage*" and "*The Temple of Health*," which remained, until a recent date, in West Forty-third street, between the Eighth and Ninth avenues.

make a Houfe<sup>1</sup>—my Doctors say I muſt not attend it nor any other Buſineſs in ſome Weeks; but I hope they will be miſtaken—Nothing from t'other ſide of the Water but a fearful looking for of Wrath—Our continental petition moſt probably contemned the Bulk of the nation (it is ſaid agt Us) and a bloody Campaign next Summer—But let us be prepared for the worſt—Who can prize life without Liberty? It is a Bauble only fit to be thrown away.

\* \* \* \* \*

GARISH HARSIN TO MR. WILLIAM RADCLIFF AT RHYS BECK.

NEW YORK February 13, 1776

Couſen William

\* \* \* \* \*

i ſhall Now indever to Give you ſome account how matters are hear Now on the 2 Inſtant arived Cornel Water Berry whit about 1000 men<sup>2</sup> the 3 Inſtant arived 500 minet men from New England a Number of pepol Began to move this Day out of town<sup>3</sup> But on the 4 Inſtant in the morning arived General Clinton<sup>4</sup> in the Mer-

<sup>1</sup> The new Provincial Congreſs was to have met on the 14th November ("Journal of the Provincial Congreſs of New York," p. 197), but a quorum was not preſent until December 6, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> "A regiment of Connecticut men, commanded by Colonel Waterbury."—Governor Tryon to the Earl of Dartmouth, 8th February, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Butler's Statement (Trenton MSS.), and Gov. Tryon's diſpatch to the Earl of Dartmouth, Feb. 8, 1776.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry Clinton, who was then on his way to the South, to join Admiral Parker in his movement on South Carolina.

cury Man of Waar from Bosten & transport Brig the same Day arived Generel Lee<sup>1</sup> Whit 300 men it is imbof- feble to Defcrib the Convufen<sup>2</sup> that this City was in on acount of the Regeler's Being Com<sup>3</sup> fome faid ther was 15 fail Below & would Be up the Nex Day the 5 Inften Nothing materel Hapned pepel moving as fas as poffible they could the 6 Inften the River full of ice the manawar had her Cable cut by it but Let Go a Nother Ancker<sup>4</sup> the 7 Instant Lord Sterling<sup>5</sup> arived whit 1000 men from the

<sup>1</sup> General Washington, having obtained intelligence of the fitting out of a fleet at Boston, and of the embarkation of troops from there \* \* gave orders to General Lee to repair, with such volunteers as were willing to join him and could be expeditiously raised, to the city of New York, with a design to prevent the English from taking possession of New York and the North River, as they would thereby command the country and the communication with Canada.—*Memoirs of Charles Lee, Esq.* (London, 1792), pp. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> "Convufen"—confusion.

<sup>3</sup> "This City is in Terror and confusion: One half of its inhabitants have withdrawn with their effects, hundreds without means to support their families."—*Governor Tryon to Earl of Dartmouth, 8th February, 1776.*

<sup>4</sup> "The Asia and Phœnix have been obliged to draw very near the Wharfs, having been much distressed by the floating cakes of ice."—*Governor Tryon to Earl of Dartmouth, February 8, 1776.*

<sup>5</sup> William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, was born in the city of New York, in 1726; succeeded his father as surveyor general of New Jersey; and entered into trade. He accompanied General Shirley as his aide and secretary; with whom he also visited Europe in 1756–7. He was appointed a brigadier general in the Continental Army, on the first of March, 1776—having previously commanded the First regiment of the New Jersey line.

He was captured at the battle of Long Island; was subsequently in command in New Jersey, where he rendered effective service; was engaged at the Short Hills, Middlebrook, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth; and during the entire war was actively engaged, doing good

jerseys the 8 Instant added New Life to the moving for about 3 o'clock arrived a ship Whit 200 Soulders from Boston it is impossible to Describe the Contentation the Weoman Where in as a Report prevail that 19 ship were Below however there was no moor the 9 & 10 Instant Nothing materiel hapned pepol moeving as if it was the Last Day as Gennerel Lee was to Begin to intrench the 12 Instant the 11 Instant was a Remarkable Day Gards Being plas all along the East River so as to prevent any persons Going off the Begun to taik the Guns of they Batrey wich was Conducted whit so much secreciey that the ship Did Not hear of it till 4 clock in the after Noon When they Imedetly hauld off in the River where they are Now whitout firing one Gun the Same Day sailed the Mercury Manawar whit General Clinton on Board & the 2 transport for the westward as it is said we are Now under No fear from the ship Now as we have men & guns sufficient for them Now 12 Instant pepol now Begin to stop moving our famely are all in York yet But shall send them to Bruniwick if we se any Danger

N. B. We are Now a City of Waar

service for his country. He died at Albany, January 15, 1783, aged fifty-seven years.

Judge Duer of this city, recently deceased, was his grandson.

<sup>1</sup> "The day before yesterday Lord Sterling, at the head of four companies of Jersey troops arrived here, and more are expected."—*Governor Tison to Earl of Dartmouth, 8th Feb., 1776.*

ABRAHAM VARICK TO CAPT. RICHARD VARICK.

NEW YORK March 28th 1776.

Dear Brother

\* \* \* \* \*

I give you & every friend to Liberty Joy on the Regulars being drove from the Town of Boston<sup>1</sup>, it was a Nest they ought to have been from some time ago, but all for the better perhaps, they would have ketcht us unprepar'd then, but now we are and will be so well fortified, as to give them a Scrag they will not Relish very well—Their are various conjectures with regard to Regulars leaving that Town, the Tories here I can see are much thagrin'd at it, and pretend to make the best excuses possible for them, for my part I cannot help thinking but necessity drove them from it, this is as glaring a proof as can be I think, that is that General Howe gave orders to Attack our lines, but Two Thousand of his Men refus'd (which guests must be the Men which were Order'd Under Lord Piercy, to attack Dorchester Neck<sup>2</sup>) saying they had not forgot the Butchering of Bunker Hill, they fled so precipately, that

<sup>1</sup> General Howe and the main army had evacuated the town of Boston on the 17th of March, 1776. The reader will find a very complete account, both of the siege and the evacuation of Boston, in Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," published in Boston in 1851.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph probably refers to the movement of twenty-five hundred men, under the gallant Earl Percy, on the fifth of March, 1776. They were assembled at Castle William, in boats, and were ordered to move against the American lines, under cover of the night. These preparations had been

the Officers had left their linnen & Watches in their Chambers, they will not come to This Town believe me till they are largely Reinforced—So much for those Hell Hounds

\* \* \* \* \*

JNO. VARICK, JR., TO CAPT. RICHARD VARICK.

NEW YORK April 1st, 1776  
Monday Morning

Dear Brother

\* \* \* \* \*

In my last I notified to you the Intentions of the 1<sup>st</sup> Batalion, I may now inform you of what they have since accomplish'd. They have founded a Breath-Work round the Hoipital & almost compleated it—com-

teen from the American camp; and the colonel—already sensible of their advantages—were eager for an opportunity to meet their enemy. Among the people in the neighborhood of the camp, also, the greatest excitement was produced, and thousands flocked down to witness the expected battle.

Unfortunately for the gratification of the curious, a *terrible storm arose*, which continued two day, by which time General Wallington had so far perfected his defence, that the projected attack was abandoned by General Howe. *Ibid* Frothingham, pp. 219, 305.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid* note 2, page 71.

<sup>2</sup> The New York Hoipital originated in an organization of three physicians—Doctors Middleton, John June, and Samuel Bard—in 1770; through whose exertions a charter was obtained from the royal governor on the thirteenth July, 1776. The foundation of the building was laid on the twenty-seventh of July, 1773; but on the twenty-eighth of February, 1775, the still unfinished building was nearly destroyed by fire.

The General Assembly granted £4000 toward rebuilding the edifice; but the war which followed prevented its completion until the third of January, 1791, when the first patients were admitted.



posed solely of Sod & Dirt—The Thickness of it about 10 Feet, & about 7 Feet high, with a Ditch of 12 Feet wide, & 7 deep, furrounding the whole.—This will afford a safe Retreat, from the Fire of small Arms.—I have had the Honor of working at it 3 or 4 Days, since I enter'd the Fiffleer Comp<sup>y</sup> under the Command of Cap<sup>t</sup> Livingston.<sup>1</sup>—The Fortification originates its Name from the Founders of it, to wit, the 1<sup>st</sup> Bat<sup>n</sup>.—There is another Structure erected on what formerly was called Byard's Mount, but now is mostly term'd Bunckers Hill<sup>2</sup> & which when finished will be a most compleat Fort, and will command the whole City.—I fine, every Ship is, & every Avenue leading from the Water will be strongly fortified, to prevent our worst of enemies from landing; & possessing themselves of the City, if they should ever attempt it.—But the Number of Continental Troops that are to be station'd here, will I hope prove sufficient to deter them from such an Attempt. There are great Numbers daily arriving here, from all Quarters; and it is universally thought, we will in a short Space of Time, have an Army of 15,000 Men collected here for the Preservation of this City.—The People here do not seem now so apprehensive of the Soldiers landing, since the Account of the happy Fate of our Enemies evacuating the City Boston, on which I congratulate you & every other Friend of Liberty.—The News of this happy Event seem'd

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Note 1, page 72.

<sup>2</sup> Near the present corner of Broadway and Grand street. *Vide* page 28.



to inspire the Breasts of every Friend to America with new Hopes of Conquests & with greater Ardor to rescue this once flourishing Country from the Shackles & Oppressions of a British Parliament.—The Ships of War are the only Tools we now apprehend any great Danger from, since it is out of our Power to cope with those thundering Hell Hounds. There is some private Report that the ministerial Mercenaries are now fortifying Bedlows Island, assisted by many Countrymen.—if this can be relied on I doubt but we will have a small Schirmish there soon.

\* \* \* \* \*

JOHN VARICK, JR., TO CAPTAIN RICHARD VARICK.

NEW YORK May 14th 1776.

Dear Brother

\* \* \* \* \*

The Tories are reduced to the Necessity of delivering up their Arms, & take an Oath, that they'll resist every Attempt made by the British Ministry to violate the rights & Liberties of America, or at least not assist them in any of their secret Machinations.<sup>1</sup> There are severall

<sup>1</sup>The Continental Congress, on the fourteenth of March, 1776, had "recommended" to the several colonies, to cause the "disaffected" within such colonies to be disarmed; and to apply such arms to the arming of the troops which such colonies might call into the service.

On the twenty-sixth of March, the Committee of Safety referred this resolution of "recommendation" above referred to, to a committee of two members—Messrs. Tredwell and Moore—who, on the next day, reported a plan of operations for carrying the same into effect; with the addi-

who refuse to take the Oath; lest they should perjure themselves.—From this it is infer'd that they have signed & swore to some Declaration; And the Congress has taken the Method of securing all such Persons in Prison, for yesterday John Roome Att<sup>y</sup> & Augustus Van Horne was carried to Jail on that Acc<sup>t</sup> & doubtless there will be many more ere long.—There is some Prospect now of discovering all those vile Rascals, that have already pass'd too long unnoticed, & have enjoy'd greater Benefits than their bleeding Countrymen.—There will soon be a stop to this Tory Faction.                   \*                   \*                   \*                   \*                   \*

The Granadiers<sup>1</sup> have gain'd themselves great Honor, by their erecting the circular Battery nominated after them: For they rec<sup>d</sup> the Thanks of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sterling<sup>2</sup> in a most publick Manner.—It is of real Satisfaction to Me to think that a few of our Citizens have behaved in such a Manner, as has redounded to their Honor, And hope it may prove a

tional provision that the parties who were to be thus disarmed should also be compelled to sign a paper called an "association," promising "to defend by arms, the United American Colonies against the hostile attempts of the British fleets and armies, until the present unhappy controversy between the two countries shall be settled"—a promise which, when made, was generally made under stress of circumstances, and was obeyed only, as might have been expected, while the peculiar circumstances which produced the promise continued to operate.

<sup>1</sup> This company wore a uniform of blue, with red facings, and was commanded by Colonel John Lasher, as captain, William Hyer, as first lieutenant, Abraham Brasler, as second lieutenant, and Abraham Van Dyck, as third lieutenant.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Note 5, page 86.

Means to clear up the Imputation & Contempt this City  
was held in by some of the Neighbouring Colonies.

\* \* \* \* \*

PETER ELTING TO CAPT. RICHARD VARICK.

NEW YORK 4<sup>th</sup> June 1776

Dear Brother

\* \* \* \* \*

Time will hardly admit to add any news. Coll. Putnam<sup>1</sup> tells me that there were Seven armed Vessels at the hook yesterday, Small & Large, our Congress have laid a plan to block up the Harbour, But are waiting to lay there plan before Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, who is Expected back from Philadelphia this Evening<sup>2</sup>, Two small french Vessels ar-

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Rufus Putnam, a cousin of the general of that name, but a much more useful man.

He was an excellent engineer, and possessed the entire confidence of the commander-in-chief, of which he was eminently worthy, and which he never forfeited.

After the war was over, he removed to the North-west, and was one of the pioneer settlers of Ohio—making his home at Marietta. He was a judge of the United States Court, a brigadier general of the army, during the administration of President Washington, and surveyor general of the United States. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, in 1802; the first grand master of the Masonic fraternity in Ohio; and in 1812, one of the founders of the first Bible Society west of the Alleghanie. He died in May, 1824, aged eighty-seven years.

<sup>2</sup> "Congress having been pleased to request my attendance at Philadelphia, to advise with them on the situation of our affairs, and of such measures as may be proper for works of Defence."—*General Washington to General Schuyler*, 22 May, 1776.

ived here yesterday & they say five more are on there way near by, Loaded with, Brandy Indigo, Sugers, Molasses &c —We Expect a fleet & army Here soon, our Batteries are so farr Ready that I am In hopes they will meet with a much warmer Reception than they think for, what other news We have you will find in the prints

\* \* \* \* \*

P. S. I have got you the only pr Pistels to be found I hope they may sute you the price is 80/ pr I fend them by the bearer

SOLOMON DRGWNE, M. D., TO SOLOMON DROWNE, SR.

NEW YORK June 4th 1776.

Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir,

Amidst a good deal of hurry and Noise I fet down to write you a few Lines (tho' late at Night) by Mr J. Brown, who fets away Tomorrow.

We arrived here yesterday, \* \* \* a little after ten.

\* \* \* \* \*

We waited on Doct<sup>r</sup> Morgan<sup>1</sup> to Day, and were kindly received. He marked out a Course of Duty for us at the Hospital which will keep us very busy. The College is occupied for the General Hospital. It is a very elegant Building, and its Situation pleafant, and falubrious. We

*“Ordered, That General Washington attend in Congress to-morrow.”—  
Journals of Congress, May 23, 1776.*

<sup>1</sup> Doct<sup>r</sup> John Morgan, who was Director General and Physician-in-chief to the General Hospital of the American army.

were shewn the Apartment allotted us in it to Day, which we like very well; and expect to move from the place we put up at, tomorrow.—I have a List of Medicines, purchased here for y<sup>e</sup> Continental Hospital, to copy for Doct<sup>r</sup> Morgan, which obliges me to conclude.

\* \* \* \* \*

JOHN VARICK, JR., TO CAPTAIN RICHARD VARICK.

NEW YORK JUNE 10<sup>th</sup> 1776 Monday.

Dear Brother

\* \* \* \* \*

The Tories here seem'd to exult in their Opinion, that General Washington was gone to Philadelphia in Order to resign his Commission, if the Congress declar'd for an Independence. It was even currently reported, that he was gone with that View.—How was the Tories Exultations & Withes frustrated on his Return.—they can make no Reply to what they alledged at his Departure<sup>1</sup>.

To what low Means do our Enemies already stoop, & what unjustifiable, & mean Methods do they pursue to obtain the Inteligence they daily receive of our Motions; for yesterday was taken up in this City, and carried to Goal, a Negro Fellow who belong'd to Col Jennings, & a free Negro, who had been employed in a Peauger, to carry Provisions on Board of the Governors Ship<sup>2</sup>, from here, & such

<sup>1</sup> Vide Note 2, page 93.

<sup>2</sup> Governor Tryon was, at that period, on board the ship *Duchess of Gordon*, at anchor in the harbor.

Intelligence as they, & their Accomplices in this City could collect, for the Information of that vile Rascal, on Board the Dutches of Gordon. There is a Letter now in Town in the Name of Pitt,<sup>1</sup> attested as a true Copy from the Original by W. T. which protests against the Proceedings of the Colonies, & imports that as long as we contended for Liberty, he was our Friend, but since we had levy'd open War against his Majesty, every Sinew, & every Nerve shou'd be exerted to suppress Rebellion, & reduce his Subjects to a Sense of their Duty. It is believ'd, it has been contriv'd & fabricated on Board of the Dutches of Gordon (since it first came from there, to be distributed about by the Tories;) under the Name of Pitt, in Order to discourage the People. It is to be hoped however, that it will not be attended with such evil Consequences, as might be apprehended from it if really true, But the Veracity of it is suspected on Grounds of Probability—These are most unhappy Times, when we are reduced to such Straits; as that Persons, who were once considered as Patriots to their Country, will descend so far beneath the Character, & Dignity of Gentlemen, as to pursue the Vilest of Measures, & consider nothing to mean to act if they can only perpetrate their wicked, & detestible Designs.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*            \*

<sup>1</sup> Lord Chatham had been an early and devoted friend to the American Colonies; and such a letter as that which is here described would have been very beneficial to the royal cause.

PETER ELTING TO CAPT. RICHARD VARICK.

NEW YORK 13th June 1776

Dear Brother

\* \* \* \* \*

We Had some Grand Toory Rides in this City this week, & in particular Yesterday. Several of them ware handeld verry Roughly Being Caried trugh the Streets on Rails, there Cloaths Tore from there becks and there Bodies pritty well Mingled with the dust.<sup>1</sup> Amongst them ware C—— Capt. Hardenbrook,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rapelje,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Queen the Poticary & Lefly the barber. There is hardly a toory face to be seen this morning—Our Congress published a Resolve on the Ocaſion, Expreſſing there diſaprobation, tho it might have proceedid from a Proper Zeal for the liberties of American freedom & deſire that it may Ceate, & that a mode for puniſhing ſuch Offenders will ſoon be adopted for this Colony<sup>4</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> “— have been cruelly rode on rails, a practice moſt painful, dangerous, and, till now, peculiar to the humane republicans of New England.”—*Letter from Staten Iſland, Auguſt 17*, cited in Moore’s “Diary of the American Revolution.”

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus Hardenbrook.

<sup>3</sup> Rem Rapelje.

<sup>4</sup> “Generals Putnam and Miſſin having complained to this Congress of the riotous and diſorderly conduct of numbers of the inhabitants of this city, which had led, this day, to acts of violence toward ſome diſaffected perſons: it was thereupon

“*Resolved*, That this Congress by no means approve of the riots that have happened this day; they flatter themſelves, however, that they have proceeded from a real regard to liberty and a deteſtation of thoſe perſons who,



SOLOMON DROWNE, M. D., TO SOLOMON DROWNE, SENR.

GENERAL HOSPITAL, N. YORK June 17th [1776]

Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir,

At length I am fomewhat fettled to what I have been fince my arrival here. The Quarter-Mafter of y<sup>e</sup> Hofpital and his Wife reached here a few Days paff, from Bolton; fince which we live in a very elegant Manner, compared with what we did. As there happened to be fome Vacancies in the Hofpital, I have as good a Berth as I cou'd have wilhed for. (The fame as Mr Binney's.)<sup>1</sup> We draw Twenty Dollars a Month, and Two Rations Pr Day. I have enjoyed a good ftate of Health fince I have been here. We have been clofely employed a good part of y<sup>e</sup> time, affifting in putting up Medicines for thirty Chefts. By the Paper I fend inclofed, you will fee we expect an Attack this way foon. 'Tis thought they will attempt landing on Long-Ifland, by fome;—by others, that they will, with a fair breeze, run by the forts, up North River and land. We have things in pretty good Read-

by their language and conduct, have difcovered themfelves to be inimical to the caufe of America. To urge the warm friends of liberty to decency and good order, this Congrefs affures the public that effectual meafures fhall be taken to fecure the enemies of American liberty in this colony; and do require the good people of this city and colony to defift from all riots, and leave the offenders againft fo good a caufe to be dealt with by the conftitutional representatives of the colony."—*Journal of Provincial Congrefs*, June 12, 1776.

<sup>1</sup> This Mr. Binney is the gentleman to whom Dr. Drowne often refers when fpeaking of "us" and "we."

ness at the Hospital for the horrid Effects of a general Action. I hope it may not come to this; but that the schemes of our Enemies may be frustrated.

A part of y<sup>e</sup> Artillery Reg<sup>t</sup> and a Number of Volunteers have gone upon an Expedition down y<sup>e</sup> River to y<sup>e</sup> Narrows, I believe; to take y<sup>e</sup> watering place from y<sup>e</sup> Asia's Men, or drive y<sup>e</sup> Regulars from their fort at y<sup>e</sup> Light-House, and destroy it.

There has lately been a good deal of attention paid the Tories in this City. Some of the world have been carried thro' the streets (at Noonday) on Rails, &c. \* \*

PETER ELTING TO CAPT. RICHARD VARICK.

NEW YORK 9th July 1776.

Dear Brother

Your Shoes I could not git for you on account of the Alarm on the arrival of the fleet, since which almost all business in town is knocked up the Fleet now lays very Quiet at the watering Place<sup>1</sup>, waiting for a Reinforcement from England<sup>2</sup> When they say they shall little Regard

<sup>1</sup> The fleet from Halifax, having on board the British army under Sir William Howe, arrived at Sandy Hook on the twenty-ninth of June; and the troops were debarked on the second and third of July.

<sup>2</sup> Near the present Quarantine.

<sup>3</sup> Then on its way from England; arriving at New York on the twelfth of August, 1776.

our Batteries We as little Regard them, Our men are  
 in high Sperrits and Ready to meet them at any Hour the  
 town fwarms with people, I doubt not But our army Con-  
 fifts of at leaft twenty thoufand men, & the Country about  
 us verry Willing to lend us there afftence, I am verry Sorry  
 to hear fo much of the bed fucces of the Army in your  
 quarter,<sup>1</sup> I am afraid it will Be Attended with bed Confi-  
 quences \* \* \* \* \*

SOLOMON DROWNE, M. D., TO MISS SALLY DROWNE.

GENERAL HOSPITAL N. YORK July 13th [1776]

Dear Sifter Sally,

\* \* \* \* \*

I fuppose you will have heard before this reaches you,  
 that y<sup>e</sup> Fleet has arrived here, and lies in fair view of y<sup>e</sup>  
 City. Yefter-Afternoon two Ships & three Tenders came  
 to fail, and flood towards y<sup>e</sup> City. They had not got fairly  
 within fhoot, before our Forts & Batteries began to fire at  
 them;—and, what was mortifying, they kept fteadily along  
 feemingly regardlefs of our conftant fire, till they got almoft  
 abreaft of our Works; then gave us a few paffing Brod-  
 fides, and, with a fine Breeze, failed ftatelyly up North  
 River, I believe unhurt by us.

But, fhocking to tell, we had fix fine fellows killed & 4

<sup>1</sup>The Northern army had retired from Canada, and taken poft at Crown Point. It was very fickly; and great numbers were fuffering from the fmall-pox.

or five wounded at our Grand Battery, thro' mere Carelessness, or Ignorance. For, neglecting to swab y<sup>e</sup> Cannon at all, or doing it improperly, the catridges took fire, and y<sup>e</sup> fatal Accidents ensued.

The Wounded were brought to y<sup>e</sup> Hoſpital, and this day one of them had his Arm (all y<sup>e</sup> Bones of which were broken) taken off. He was *moved* first to the new or City Hoſpital, which has been intended & fitted for y<sup>e</sup> wounded; where I now attend him to be ready if y<sup>e</sup> stump shou'd bleed afresh. One Ball came into y<sup>e</sup> Hoſpital Yard, struck y<sup>e</sup> ground at a little Distance from us, and bounded thro' y<sup>e</sup> board fence. I believe it was a 12 pound shot. I think our situation as much exposed, as any in the City.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am glad our Assembly have allowed of Inoculation, and hope you & Bro' Bill will not defer receiving *that Dilemma*, (y<sup>e</sup> s. Pox) *which* taken by chance has proved y<sup>e</sup> Bane of tens of Thousands; when it comes to near you, cloathed in Gentleness, — all its Terribleness cast aside.

My Sister, I congratulate you, and y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Family, that ye live in a Free and Independent Country,—The United States of America.

\* \* \* \* \*

† There existed considerable difference of opinion among even well informed physicians as to the advantages resulting from inoculation.

PETER ELTING TO CAPT. RICHARD VARICK.

NEW YORK 17th July 1776

D<sup>r</sup> Brother

\* \* \* \* \*

We Expect An Attack from the menwarr Every moment, the troops I imagin wonte Come to make any attempt until they are reinforced, Lord How is arrived but brought none,<sup>1</sup> two Menwarr have gone up the North River laft friday as high as tappen<sup>2</sup> they met with Confid-erable damage,<sup>3</sup> & yesterday they have gone up to Haver-ftraw,<sup>4</sup> I fency they meen to go up as high as poughkeepfy to diftroy our two Veffels a building<sup>5</sup> (if they do I am in hopes our foorts In the Highlands<sup>6</sup> will fave them the truble of Coming Back, Our Army is in high Sperrits and are all Wifhing for an Attack from the Enimy, We Rec<sup>d</sup> No damage from the Enimies fiering laft fryday<sup>7</sup> Only one Cow killed which made good market Beef But fix of our

<sup>1</sup> Lord Howe, in the *Eagle*, arrived at New York on the evening of the twelfth of July; and the reinforcements did not arrive until the twelfth of August.

<sup>2</sup> The *Rofe* and the *Phœnix*, with three tenders, moved up the river on the afternoon of the twelfth of July.—*General Washington's Letter to the President of Congress*, July 12, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> The amount of damage really done was probably fmaller than this letter would appear to indicate. They fuffered no apparent injury.—*Sparks' Washington*, III., p. 475, note.

<sup>4</sup> “*Sparks' Washington*,” III., p. 475, note.

<sup>5</sup> Two frigates were then on the flocks at Poughkeepfie.

<sup>6</sup> Forts Montgomery and Clinton.

<sup>7</sup> *Ide* pages 100, 101.

train got killed & four or five Wounded from being over Zealous, not taken proper time to swadd the guns. We hear Near forty got killed on board the thips<sup>1</sup>—two flags have Bean sent by Lord *howe* to George Washington &c &c &c Which ware both sent back, Or Reather Refused for not being properly deracted. I am happy Your Northern Army has made to safe a Retreat I am in Great hopes we shall be a match for them Here

\* \* \* \* \*

PETER LETING TO CAPT. RICHARD VARICK.

NEW YORK 30th July 1776

Dear Brother

\* \* \* \* \*

You would be surpris'd to se what Number of Empty houfes here are in this place. Verry few of the inhabitants Remain in town that are not ingaged in the Service<sup>1</sup> \* \* \* \* \*

Great preparations are making here With Shiver de freefes and Veffels to stop up the Channel,<sup>2</sup> & fundry fire

<sup>1</sup> There is little reason to suppose that the loss was near as great as is here represented. Three were wounded on the *Royal*; and the loss of the *Phoenix* is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* General Washington's Letters to President of Congress, July 14 and 17, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Note 1, page 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Butler's Statement. (*Constitution MSS.*)

<sup>5</sup> "I am preparing some obstructions for the channel nearly opposite the works at the upper end of the island."—*General Washington to President of*

ships, preparing two Brigs are Ready,<sup>1</sup> something great will  
 Be attempted soon, five or seven Rogallies are already come  
 down from the Eastward two are built here that will carry  
 one 32 Pounder Each, One of them quite and the other  
 Nearly finished,<sup>2</sup> the fleet Remains Verry Quiet, But the  
 men of the two menwar Up the River have a small brush  
 Once in a While with our Guards long the River<sup>3</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

SOLOMON DROWNE, M. D., TO SOLOMON DROWNE, SENR.

NEW YORK August 9th [1776.]

Hon<sup>d</sup> Parents,

\* \* \* \* \*

Yester-Morning before two o'Clock we were alarmed:—  
 however, it turn'd out no more, than that a Number of  
 the Enemy's Boats came up towards y<sup>e</sup> City. Surely we  
 have no despicable Enemy to deal with;—brought up to

*Congress*, 25 July, 1776. See also his letter to the same gentleman, August  
 5, 1776, and "General Heath's Memoirs," August 1.

A tolerably complete account of these obstructions has been written by  
 Mr. Ruttenber; and published by J. Munfell, in his "Historical Series."

<sup>1</sup> A Mr. Anderson had proposed a plan for the destruction of the enemy's  
 fleet by means of fireships; and he had been employed, under the direction  
 of General Washington, in constructing them.

<sup>2</sup> *I*vide General Washington's letter to President of Congress, July 29,  
 1776; and "General Heath's Memoirs," July 25 and 28, and August 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Aug. 3. About noon there was a brisk cannonade up the Hudson, be-  
 tween the American row-galleys and the British ships: the former had two  
 men killed; two mortally, and 12 slightly wounded. The British loss was  
 not known."—*Heath's Memoirs*.



War:—their officers well skilled in y<sup>e</sup> Military Art:—their Bands well disciplined:—they are formidable: But they have the Hessians, &c. for *their Allies*, for whose Aid the British Coffers (some of them at least) must be emptied.

*We*, for *our Ally*, have the *Great GOD*,—who, requires no subsidy,—nought, save a grateful Mind and a right Fear of *Him*; and to conduct with true Integrity.

Our Wages were raised some time ago (in consequence of a Petition to Congress) to thirty Dollars P<sup>r</sup> Month, or a Dollar p<sup>r</sup> Day. The Pay wou'd be no Inducement to stay a moment in this shocking Place, at the Expens<sup>e</sup> of Health, that best of Blessings. The Air of the whole City seems infected. In almost every street there is a horrid smell.—But, Duty to my Country, and another Consideration, require, that I shou'd not quit my Post at this Juncture.

\* \* \* \* \*

PETER ELTING TO CAPT. RICHARD VARICK.

HACKENSACK 12th Sept 1776

Dear Brother

This is the verry first oportunity I had to send you a line since my return. we got back yesterday a week, and my Curiosity has since led me to town three times, tho' To Little satisfaction. the town Appears to me to be in a Bad state of defence it seems the greatest dependance Is made on the muskitry. But am informed that our army is in a much better Posture of defence at Hornshook<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Horen's Hook—now called "Harris's Point"—nearly opposite Hurlgate.

and Kingsbridge, at the later the grand stand is to be made Many Waggons & Horses about here have been Impres for Carrying the stores, Provisions &c out of New York I donte doubt but you have a much better account of the Battles and Vacuation of long Island<sup>1</sup> then I am able to give you the Enemy have Erected a bomb and two Artillery battiries over again ours at Horns Hook<sup>2</sup>, which has occasioned an almost Constant Cannonading for a weak, with Little loss of blood on our side, which was one men killed & another Wounded yesterday, I doubt not but a severe blow will Be struck soon—Its Currently Reported since Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's Return from Congress<sup>3</sup> that three of the

<sup>1</sup> The Battle of Long Island was fought on the twenty-eighth of August, 1776; and on the night of the twenty-ninth the army evacuated the island.

The battle has been fully described in the letters of Colonel Harrison to the President of Congress, 27 August; of Lord Sterling to General Washington, August 29; of Colonel Haslett to Thomas Rodney, October 4, 1776; of General Sullivan to the President of Congress, October 25, 1777; of General Howe to Lord George Germain, 3d September; in "Thompson's Long Island," I., pp. 196, 214, 222; in Mr. Ward's paper on that subject before the New York Historical Society; in Dawson's "Battles of the United States," I., pp. 143-159, etc.

The "Evacuation" of Long Island, as it is here called, has been described fully in General Washington's letters to the President of Congress, August 31, 1776, and that to his brother, John Augustine, 22 September, 1776; Marshall's "Washington" (4th Edit.), II., p. 439; Gordon's "Revolution" (London, 1788), II., pp. 312-316; and Stedman, I., pp. 197-8.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Note 1, page 105.

<sup>3</sup> General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner at Long Island, had been dispatched to Philadelphia, by order of Admiral Lord Howe, to invite, in his behalf, a conference for the purpose of attempting to adjust the differences between the United States and Great Britain.

Members are to have a Conference with Lord & Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe, they were this day to meet at amboy on the Ocaſion<sup>1</sup> Our army is ſtill in high ſpirits and Willing to meet their foes at any hour.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> The meeting between Lord Howe and the three members here referred to—Messrs. Franklin, John Adams, and Rutledge—took place at the “Billow Houſe,” on Staten Iſland, on the eleventh of September, full reports of which may be found in the Journals of the Continental Congress, September 17, 1776; in Lord Howe’s letter to Lord George Germain, September 20, 1776; the “Works of Doctor Franklin” (*Boston*, 1842), V., pp. 97-108, VIII., p. 187; General Washington’s letters to President of Congress, 31 August, and 8 September, 1776; “Autobiography of John Adams” (*Works*, III., pp. 75-79), John Adams to James Warren, September 8, and the same to Samuel Adams, same date and September 17, 1776.

## THE BATTLE OF HARLEM PLAINS.

[The following letter, written a few days after the affair, relates principally to the action on the Harlem plains, September 16th, 1776. That engagement, whether considered in its origin, or the manner in which it was conducted, or in its effect on both armies, was one of the most important of the minor actions of the War of the Revolution.

Other accounts of the action may be found in letters of General Washington to the President of Congress, September 18, 1776, and to John Augustine Washington, September 22, 1776; General Greene's letter to Governor Cooke, September 17, 1776; Colonel Reed's letter to his wife, (*Life of Jos. Reed*, I., pp. 237-239; *Loring's Field Book*, II., pp. 612, 613; and *Dawson's Battles of the United States*, I., pp. 160-166.

George Clinton, the writer, was born in Orange county, New York, July 26, 1739. His early life was one of adventure, and he subsequently studied law with William Smith.

In 1775, he was a member of the General Assembly of the Colony, and displayed great firmness in his opposition to the government. On the 15th of May, 1775, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, and voted for Independence in July, 1776, although he was called into the field before the engrossed copy of the Declaration had been prepared for signature, and his name does not appear on it. In March, 1777, he was commissioned a brigadier-general in the Continental army, having occupied a similar post in the New York service many months before that time. In April, 1777, he was chosen *both Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of New York*, and accepted the former; to which office he was re-elected five terms—in all eighteen years.

When the enemy moved up the Hudson, in October, 1777, he prorogued the Assembly, and, with his brother James, threw himself into Fort Montgomery, which he defended with the most desperate bravery, abandoning the works only when the enemy had completely captured them.

He presided in the Convention of New York, which considered and ratified the Constitution of the United States; in 1801, he was re-elected gov-

ernor; and, in 1804, Vice-President of the United States, which office he held until his decease.

He died April 20, 1812, aged seventy-two years.]

GEN. GEO. CLINTON'S LETTER.

KING'S BRIDGE 21<sup>st</sup> Sept 1776.

D<sup>r</sup> Doctor

I was favoured with yours by Capt. Jackson wrote at my House Eight Days ago for which I am much obliged to you as it really relieved me of great anxiety respecting Ceaty's Health which I however yet fear is in a declining state. Your brother too I hear lays very Ill at my House with a Feavour which gives me great Concern. I have been so hurried & Fatigued out of the ordinary way of my Duty by the Removal of our Army from New York & great Part of the public stores to this Place that it has almost worn me out tho' as to Health I am as well as usual: but how my Constitution has been able to stand lying out several Nights in the Open Air & exposed to Rain is almost a Miracle to me—Whom at Home the least Wet indeed some Times the Change of Weather almost laid me up.

The Evacuation of the City I suppose has much alarmed the Country. It was judged untenable in Council of Genl Officers considering the Enemy possessed of Long-Island &c

<sup>1</sup> "Ceaty"—Mrs. Catharine Livingston, wife of Gilbert Livingston and sister of Mrs. Tappan.

<sup>2</sup> The evacuation of New York by the Americans, September 15, 1776.

and was therefore advised to be evacuated.<sup>1</sup> The Artillery (at least all worth moving) & almost all the public stores were removed out of it so that when the Enemy landed & attacked our Lines near the City<sup>2</sup> we had but few Men there (those indeed did not behave well) our Loss however by our Retreat from there either in Men or Stores is very

<sup>1</sup> "I called one (*a Council*) on the 12th, when a large majority not only determined a removal of the army prudent, but absolutely necessary, declaring that they were entirely convinced from a full and minute enquiry into our situation that it was extremely perilous."—*General Washington to President of Congress*, 14 September, 1776.

<sup>2</sup> General Clinton evidently was in error in this remark. Jos. Trumbull, commissary-general, writing to the Convention of New York, ("*King's Bridge*, September 16, 1776,") says, "In the retreat, I have been obliged to leave behind large quantities of flour, which reduces our magazine too low. It is absolutely necessary to have a large quantity soon." General Washington, also, (*Letter to Congress*, September 16, 1776) says, "Most of our heavy cannon, a considerable part of our baggage, and a part of our stores and provisions, which we were about removing, were unavoidably left in the city."

<sup>3</sup> Between Turtle Bay and the city, September 15, 1776.

<sup>4</sup> "To my great surprize and mortification, I found the troops that had been posted in the lines retreating with the utmost precipitation, and those ordered to support them (Parsons's and Fellows's brigades) flying in every direction, and in the greatest confusion, notwithstanding the exertions of their generals to form them. I used every means in my power to rally and get them into some order; but my attempts were fruitless and ineffectual; and on the appearance of a small party of the enemy, not more than sixty or seventy, their disorder increased, and they ran away in the greatest confusion without firing a single shot."—*General Washington to President of Congress*, 16 September, 1776. The brigades of Parsons and Fellows referred to, embraced eight regiments of Connecticut troops, and both the American officers and those of the enemy agree in their descriptions of the bad conduct of the above troops.

inconfiderable.<sup>1</sup> I would not be underftood that it was my Oppinion to evacuate the City<sup>2</sup> neither do I mean now to condemn the Meafure it is done intended for the beft I am certain.

The fame Day the Enemy poffeffed themfelves of the City, to wit, laft Sunday they landed the Main Body of their Army & encamped on York Island acrofs about the Eight Mile Stone & between that & the four Mile Stone.<sup>3</sup> Our Army at leaft one Divifion of it lay at Col<sup>o</sup> Morris's<sup>4</sup> & fo fouthward to near the Hollow Way which runs acrofs from Harlem Flat to the North River at Matje Davit's Fly<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid* Note 4, page 110.

<sup>2</sup> The general prefent in the Council who oppofed the propofed evacuation of the city, were Spencer, Clinton, and Heath. General Mercer, alfo, was oppofed to the evacuation, although he was not prefent in the Council which had advifed it.

<sup>3</sup> The eighth mile-ftone on the old Bolton road, meafured from the old City Hall in Wall ftreet, muft not be confounded with the eighth mile-ftone on the prefent road running north from the city. The former was, probably, near the prefent fuburban village of Yorkville.

<sup>4</sup> "*Col. Morris's*,"—Richard Morris had ferved in the French war, where he had been one of the aides of General Braddock. He married Mary Philpote, daughter of the lord of the manor of Philpote, in Weftchefter county, and fettled in New York at the clofe of the war; and fubfequently he became a member of the Council of the Province. On the reftoration of peace, he went to England, where he died in 1794, aged fixty-feven years; his widow, well known as one of General Wafhington's moft intimate early friends, furvived him until 1825, when fhe died, aged ninety-fix.

The country-feat of Mr. Morris here referred to, and, at the date of this letter, the head-quarters of General Wafhington, is ftill ftanding, about ten miles from the city; and is well known as the refidence of Madame Jumel, the widow of Aaron Burr.

<sup>5</sup> Matje Davit's Fly—a low fwampy ipot, a little weft from the Eighth



About half way between which two Places our Lines run across the River which indeed at that Time were only began but are now in a very defensible state. On Monday Morning the Enemy attacked our Advanced Party Commanded Col<sup>o</sup> Knowlton<sup>1</sup> (a brave Officer who was killed in the Action) near the Point of Matje Davit's Fly the Fire was very brisk on both sides our People however soon drove them back into a Clear Field about 200 Paces South East of that where they lodged themselves behind a Fence covered with Bushes our People pursued them but being ob-

avenue, near One hundred and twenty-fourth street. This locality, in earlier periods, was somewhat celebrated as one of the landmarks between the two ancient corporations of New York and Harlem.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Thomas Knowlton was born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, about the year 1740; and having been left an orphan at an early age, he entered the army, under Captain Israel Putnam, in 1755, and served on the northern frontiers during six campaigns, with great credit. He was also engaged in the expedition against Cuba, in 1762; and was present at the capture of Havana. On the opening of hostilities in 1775, he was elected to the command of the Ashford company; and he was among the first to reach Massachusetts, in that exciting struggle.

He was the commander of the Connecticut troops in the battle of Bunker's Hill, June 17, 1775, winning imperishable renown; soon after which he was promoted to the rank of Major, and, at the close of the year he retired to Connecticut. In 1776, he returned to the service with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, commanding a corps of rangers; and he secured the entire confidence of General Washington and of the army.

When the Connecticut troops, at Kip's Bay, had brought so much disgrace on their state, he thirsted for an opportunity to wipe off the stain; and the result of his aspirations was the spirited affair which has been described in this letter. He fell, nobly, on the Harlem Plains, as herein related; and he was buried in the trenches at Fort Washington, where his remains still rest, without a stick or a stone to mark the spot.

lidge'd to stand expos'd in the open Field or take a Fence at a Considerable Distance they preferred the Latter it was indeed adviseable for we soon brought a Couple of Field Pieces to bear upon them which fairly put them to Flight with two Discharges only the Second Time our People pursued them closely to the Top of a Hill about 400 paces distant where they received a very Considerable Reinforcement & made their Second Stand Our People also had received a Considerable Reinforcement, and at this Place a very brisk Action commenced which continued for near two Hours in which Time we drove the Enemy into a Neighbouring orchard from that acro's a Hollow & up another Hill not far Distant from their own Encampment, here we found the Ground rather Disadvantageous & a Retreat insecure we therefore thought proper not to pursue them any farther & retired to our first Ground leaving the Enemy on the last Ground we drove them to—That Night I commanded the Right Wing of our advanced Party or Picket on the Ground the Action first began of which Col<sup>d</sup> Pawling<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Detailed accounts of this action—known as *the Battle of Harlem Plains*—in General Washington's letter to Congress, September 18, 1776; his letter to his brother, John Augustine, September 22, 1776; his letter to Governor Cooke, September 17, 1776; General Greene's letter to Governor Cooke, of the same date; Colonel Joseph Reed's letter to his wife, *Life*, I., pp. 237-239; Dawson's *Battles of the United States*, I., pp. 160-162; Loring's *Field Book*, II., pp. 817-819; Dunlap's *New York*, II., pp. 77, 78.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Levi Pawling, of Marbletown, commanded a regiment of Ulster county militia (*Jour. of Prov. Convention*, July 17, 1776). He had been a member of the Provincial Congress; in May, 1777, was appointed First

& Col<sup>o</sup> Nicoll's<sup>1</sup> Regiment were part and next Day I sent a Party to bury our Dead. They found but 17. The Enemy removed theirs in the Night we found above 60 Places where dead Men had lay from Pudles of Blood & other appearances & at other Places fragments of Bandages & Lint.<sup>2</sup> From the best Account our Loss killed & wounded is not much less than seventy seven of which only dead<sup>3</sup> [this Account of our Loss exceeds what I mentioned in a Letter I wrote Home indeed at that Time I only had an account of the Dead—the Wounded were removed—12 o'clock M. Sunday two Deferters from on Board the Bruno Man of War<sup>4</sup> lying at Moriffaina say the Enemy had 300 killed on Monday last. *Note by Gen. Clinton.*] the Rest mostly likely do well & theirs is somewhere about 300—upwards it is generally believed—Tho I was in the latter

Judge of Ulster county; and was, also, a senator in 1777 and 1782. He died in 1782.—(*Coll. of Ulster Hist. Soc., I., p. 162.*)

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Isaac Nicoll, of Goshen, Orange county, had commanded the regiment of "Minute-men in Orange County," (*Jour. of Com. of Safety, Jan. 5, 1776*) but at the period referred to in this letter, he commanded a regiment of Orange county militia (*Jour. of Prov. Convention, July 17, 1776*).

<sup>2</sup> The loss of the enemy has never been satisfactorily ascertained, as the reports have been concealed, or so much divided as to mislead the student. There is no doubt that the loss was considerably over three hundred—the heaviest loss falling on the Light Infantry.

<sup>3</sup> The loss of the Americans, "in killed and wounded, was about sixty; but the greatest loss we sustained was in the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Knowlton, a brave and gallant officer."—*General Washington to John Augustine Washington, 22 September, 1776.*

<sup>4</sup> "Bruno."—La Brune.

Part indeed almost the whole of the Action I did not think so many Men were engaged. It is without Doubt however they had out on the Occasion between 4 & 5000 of their choicest Troops<sup>1</sup> & expected to have drove us off the Island. They are greatly mortified at their Disappointment & have ever since been exceedingly modest & quiet not having even patrolling Parties beyond their Lines—I lay within a Mile of them the Night after the battle & never heard Men work harder. I believe they thought we intended to pursue our Advantage & Attack them next Morning.

If I only had a Pair of Pistols I could I think have shot a Rascal or two. I am sure I would at least have shot a puppy of an Officer I found flinching off in the heat of the Action<sup>2</sup> it is a pity yours should lay idle—Had I my sword I could change it much to my Liking in which Case I would Return yours—Do my dear Doctor call & see your filler as often as you possibly can & let me hear from you as often as opportunity offers—My Love to my Brother & believe me

Your's

Sincerely

GEO CLINTON

Sunday 22<sup>d</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>. Night before last about one oClock

<sup>1</sup>The number of the enemy, also, is unknown. There is reason to suppose, however, that it was not less than a thousand, exclusive of the covering party.

<sup>2</sup>An instance of this "flinching off," in this action, may be found recorded in the minutes of the General Court Martial, in the case of Ebenezer Lessingwell of Colonel Darkee's regiment, September 19, 1776.

there was a terrible Fire towards the City it occasioned remarkable Light at this Place. It continued till yesterday afternoon by accounts from Paulus Hook<sup>1</sup> which is yet in our Possession it was in the City, broke out inundry Places at the same Time & is great Part consumed.<sup>2</sup> There is a flying Report of a French & Spanish Fleet to the Southward & it is said 7 of the largest shipping left N York yesterday how true I cant say. I have not time to write Home You must go see them.

[Addressed to

Doctor Peter Tappen<sup>3</sup>

at

*Fort Montgomery.*]

<sup>1</sup> "Paulus Hook"—now Jersey City.

<sup>2</sup> The "terrible fire" here referred to, broke out "at or near Whitehall, soon extended to the Exchange, took its course up the west side of Broad-street, as far as Verlattenberg Hill, consuming all the blocks from the Whitehall up. The flames extended across the Broadway from the house of Mr. David Johnston to Beaver Lane, or Fincher's Alley, on the west, and carried all before it, a few buildings excepted, to the house at the corner of Barclay-street, wherein the late Mr. Adam Vandenberg lived, sweeping all the cross streets in the way. The buildings left standing, on the west side of the Broadway, are supposed to be Captain Thomas Randall's, Capt. Kennedy's, Dr. Mallat's, Mr. John Cortlandt's sugar house and dwelling house, Dr. Jones's, Hull's tavern, St. Paul's, Mr. Axtell's, and Mr. Rutherford's. The cause of the fire is not known. We imagine about a 6th part of the whole city is destroyed, and many families have lost their All."—GAINÉ'S *N. Y. Gazette & Mercury*, September 28, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> Doctor Peter Tappan was a brother-in-law of General Clinton, the latter having married Miss Cornelia Tappan, of Kingston.

## NEW YORK LOYALISTS.

[The following Address to Admiral and General Howe, on the occasion of their successful occupation of the city of New York in 1776, is an interesting specimen of that class of papers which is still so popular among the subjects of European rulers, and especially so since it conveys to us the sentiments of the loyal inhabitants of "Old New York," their numbers, and their names.

An examination of these names has shown us the character of those who adhered to the fortune of the crown, in a stronger light than any similar paper now extant; and while the names of the few wealthy landed gentry and those of the clergy head the list, it will be seen that the petty officers in the custom-house and post-office, the Faculty of the colleges, and even the unlicensed keepers of pot-houses in the vicinity of the markets, were also impressed into the questionable service or adding their names—under the dread, it may be, of losing their situations or incurring prosecutions as a penalty of their refusal.

The names of some few well-known citizens will be found in the list; the greater portion, however, are those whose bearers, even at this early date, have passed away and been entirely forgotten.]

To the Right Honorable, Richard, Lord Viscount Howe  
—of the Kingdom of Ireland—

And to His Excellency the Honorable William Howe  
Esq<sup>r</sup> General of his Majesty's Forces in America: the  
King's Commissioners for restoring Peace to his Majesty's  
Colonies in North America—

Your Excellencies, by your declaration, bearing date  
July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1776, having signified, that "the King is desir-  
ous to deliver his American Subjects from the Calamities

“ of War and other Oppressions which they now undergo: “ and to restore the Colonies to his protection and peace”— and by a subsequent Declaration, dated Sep<sup>r</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup> 1776, having also been pleased to express your desire “ to Confer “ with his Majesty’s well affected subjects, upon the means “ of restoring the public Tranquility and establishing a permanent union with every Colony, as a part of the British Empire.—We Therefore, whose names are hereunto Subscribed, Inhabitants of the City and County of New York, in the province of New York, reflecting with the tenderest emotions of Gratitude on this Instance of his Majesty’s paternal Goodness; and encouraged by the Affectionate manner in which his Majesty’s gracious purpose hath been conveyed to us by your Excellencies, who have thereby evinced that Humanity, is inseparable from that true Magnanimity and those enlarged sentiments which form the most Shining Characters—beg leave to represent to your Excellencies—

That we bear true allegiance to our Rightful Sovereign George the Third as well as warm affection to his sacred person Crown and Dignity.—That we Esteem the constitutional Supremacy of Great Britain, over these Colonies, and other depending parts of his Majesty’s dominions, as Essential to the Union, Security, and Welfare, of the whole Empire, and sincerely lament the Interruption of that Harmony, which formerly subsisted between the Parent State and these her Colonies—That many of the Loyal Citizens



have been driven away by the Calamities of War and the Spirit of Persecution which lately prevailed; or sent to New England, and other distant Parts. We therefore hoping that the sufferings which our absent fellow citizens undergo for their Attachment to the Royal Cause may plead in their behalf: humbly pray that Your Excellencies would be pleased on these our dutiful representations to Restore this City & County to his Majesty's Protection and Peace—

NEW YORK Oct. 16th—1776

LIST OF SIGNERS.

Haob Aaron, John Abeel, Abm. J. Abramie, Philip Ackert,<sup>1</sup> Jeramiah Ackley, John Ackley, Abraham Adams, Edward Agar, Ernest Aimes, Jeronimus Akemfen, Stephen Allen, Thomas Allen, George Alliew, Robert Allison, Jeronemus Alltyne, John Alltyne, James Amar, John Amer-

<sup>1</sup> In the following alphabetical arrangement of the names, their original order has been departed from for the sake of affording more ready reference, and to avoid the necessity of too tedious an index. Where the same name was found more than once, it has been indicated by a figure following it, showing the number of times that it appeared in the list. Whether these in all cases denoted different individuals it is now difficult to determine, but the probability is that they did not in every instance.

Fuller information concerning some of these signers will be found in a valuable work entitled, "The American Loyalists; or, Biographical Sketches of Adherents to the British Crown," by Lorenzo Sabine, Esq. 8vo, Boston, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Acker, a retailer of liquors in George Street, opposite the Barrack gate.

man, John Amiel, Jun., John Amory, Daniel Amos, John Anderiefe, Stephen Anderrefe, John Antill,<sup>1</sup> Lewis Antill, Cha<sup>s</sup> W<sup>d</sup> Apthorpe,<sup>2</sup> John Archer, Philip Arcularius, Francis Arden,<sup>3</sup> Michael Arnott, Peter Arrell, Gilbert Ath, V. Pierce Athfield, Robert Atkins, Thomas Atkinson, Richard Auchmuty, Robert N. Auchmuty, Samuel Auchmuty,<sup>4</sup> Daniel Aymar (2), William Aymer, William Axtell.<sup>5</sup>

Theophylact Bache, Wm Backhoufe, John Badger, Joseph Bagley, Elias Bailey, William Bailey, Samuel Baldwin, Wm Balfour, Isaac Ball, Titus Ball, Evert Banker, Jun., Peter Bannot, Paulus Banta, Edward Barden, George Barke, Thomas Barnes, Henrich Barr, John Barwick, Sam<sup>l</sup> Bates, William Bauman, Lawe Bayard, Robert Bayard, Samuel Bayard,<sup>6</sup> Wm Bayard,<sup>7</sup> William Bayley, Thomas

<sup>1</sup> John Antill, Esq., postmaster of the city and agent for the packet-boats.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Ward Apthorpe was a member of the council, residing at Bloomingdale.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Arden was a butcher doing business in Fly market—the owner of Molyneaux the boxer, who was known as “Pete Arden” while he was in slavery in New York.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D. D., rector of Trinity Church, New York. He graduated at Harvard University in 1742; and on the 3d of March, 1777, he died in this city.

<sup>5</sup> Colonel William Axtell was a member of the council, residing at Flatbush, L. I.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Bayard, one of the firm of William Bayard & Co., importers. He was also assistant secretary of the province.

<sup>7</sup> Colonel William Bayard, head of the old mercantile house of William Bayard & Co. In the earlier stages of the Revolutionary struggle he acted with the people, and was a member of the “Committee of Fifty.” He also entertained the Massachusetts delegates at his house on the North River, in 1775.

Bean, Jacob Beitturner, James Bell, Joseph Bell, Samuel Bell, Jun., William Bell, Grove Bend, John Bengtton, John Bennet, Christopher Benfon,<sup>1</sup> Jacob Berger, Henry Bernt, Peter Berton, Fred<sup>k</sup> Bieker, John Binches, Moses Bingham, John Bithop, Richard Black, John Blackare, Patrick Blancheville, Isaac Blanck, Jeremiah Blanck, Waldron Blean,<sup>2</sup> Daniel Blockner, Christian Bloom, Archibald Blundell, Christopher Blundell, James Board, Henry Boel,<sup>3</sup> Jacob Boelen, Nicholas J. Bogart, Peter Bogart,<sup>4</sup> Christian Bollmain, Anthony Bolton, Jacob Bother, Fred. Botticher, John Bowles, Samuel Bowne, Samuel Boyer, Thomas Braine, David Bramar, Charles John Brannon, Isaac Brather, Isaac Bratt, Simon Breasted, Elias Brevoort, Henry Brevoort,<sup>5</sup> George Brewerton, Jacob Brewerton, James Brewster, Alexander Bridges, John Bridgewater,<sup>6</sup> David Brill, John Brooks, Ab<sup>m</sup> Brower, Sebtent Brower, Charles Brown,<sup>7</sup> William Brown, James Browne, John

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Benfon, an unlicensed retailer of liquor, opposite the theatre, south side of John street, near Broadway.

<sup>2</sup> Waldron Blean was captain in the third battalion of New Jersey volunteers in 1782.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Boel, "Clerk to the Post Office."

<sup>4</sup> Peter Bogert, residing in Dock (*now Water*) street.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Brevoort, a market gardener in the vicinity of the present Fifth avenue and Wallington square. The father of the late Henry Brevoort who resided in that vicinity.

<sup>6</sup> John Bridgewater, an unlicensed retailer of liquors "near the new Dutch Church" (*corner of Fulton and William streets*).

<sup>7</sup> Charles Brown, an unlicensed retailer of liquors, on the corner of Broad street and Verlatenberg hill (*Exchange place, west from Broad street*).

Browne, Thomas Brownejohn,<sup>1</sup> Joseph Browning, Robert Brunfon, James Bryad, Thomas Buchanan,<sup>2</sup> Andries Buhler, William Will<sup>m</sup> Bull, Olive Burgefs, John Burns, Thomas Buroton, John Burrowe, Wm Burton, Charles Bufh, James Bufh, John Buxton, Godfrey Bydebuck, Garrard Byrn.

John Calder, William Caldwell, Samuel Camfield, Daniel Campbell,<sup>3</sup> D. Campbell, Duncan Campbell,<sup>4</sup> George Campbell, John Campbell (2), Jofiah Cannon, Dennis Carleton, Adam Carr, Anthony Carr, Robert Carr, Gideon Carftang, Thomas Carter, Thomas Cater, Richard Cayhterry, Tadmās Chadwick, Jn<sup>o</sup> Chapman, Robert Cheefeman,<sup>5</sup> Jofeph Chew, Johannis Chorberker, Alexander Clark,<sup>6</sup> Archibald Clark, Daniel Clark, John Clark,<sup>7</sup> Clement Cooke Clarke, John Clarke, Scott L. Clark, Samuel Clayton, Thomas Cleathen, William Clowworthy, William Cochran, Philip

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Brownejohn, a druggift and apothecary, doing bufinefs at the corner of Wall ftreet and Hanover fquare (*now Pearl ftreet*), next door to the book ftore of Hugh Gaine.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Buchanan, one of the celebrated firm of Walter and Thomas Buchanan, importers and fhipping merchants. This houfe was rendered unufually confpicuous from the fact that to it was configned the tea-ſhip which was returned to London, with its cargo, by the people of New York, in April, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Campbell, a retailer of liquors at Corlies Hook.

<sup>4</sup> Duncan Campbell, an unlicenfed retailer of liquors in Beekman ftreet, near St. George's Chapel.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Cheefeman, a retailer of liquors in Broadway, near Pearl ftreet.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Clark, a retailer of liquors in New Chappel ftreet (*now Weft Broadway*).

<sup>7</sup> John Clark (or Clarke?). If the former, during thirty years the clerk of Trinity Church, who, in June, 1783, removed to St. John, New Brunf-

Cockrem, Wm. Cockroft,<sup>1</sup> Joseph Coff, James Coggeshall,<sup>2</sup> Aaron Cohn, Charles Colbourn, John Cole, Joseph Col- lines, Thomas Collister, Mathias Compton, Nicholas Con- nery, John Cooder, George Cook, William Cook, John Clarke Cooke, Michael Coon, Henry Coons, William Cor- bey, James Corin, George Corfelius, William Corielius, Andrew Couglan, Conrad Coun, Francis Cowley, John Cox, Ludwig Cox, Bartholemeu Coxetter, Dennis Coyl, Patrick Coyle, Peter Covenhoven, Robert Crannell, John Crawford, John Crawley, Belthar Creamer, Lud. Creamer, Martin Creiger,<sup>3</sup> George Croger, John Ludtz Croufcoup, Pieter Crowder, Jn<sup>o</sup> Harris Cruger,<sup>4</sup> William Cullen, George Cummings, Matthew Cuthing.

Benjamin Daffigney, John Damlong, John Darg, Jn<sup>o</sup> Baltis Dath, Sen.,<sup>5</sup> John B. Dath, Jun., John Davan,<sup>6</sup> John

wick, and in August, 1846, still lived there. If the latter, a retailer of liquors in Robinſon ſtreet.

<sup>1</sup> William Cockroft, an old merchant who had long been a dealer in "European and India" goods, near the Fly Market.

<sup>2</sup> James Coggeshall, "Land Waiter," attached to the custom-house in the port.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Creiger, a retailer of liquor in Nassau ſtreet.

<sup>4</sup> John Harris Cruger, ſon-in-law of General Oliver De Lancey. He was treaſurer of the city; a member of the council; a lieutenant-colonel in the ſervice, commanding at Fort Ninety-fix when it was attacked in 1781; and, at the peace, retired to England.

<sup>5</sup> John Baltis Dath, ſenior, kept a hardware and tin ſtore oppoſite the Of- wego, or Broadway Market.

<sup>6</sup> John Davan, leather dreſſer and breeches maker, at the ſign of the "Crown and Breeches," next door to Meſſrs. Robert and John Murray, Queen (*now Pearl*) ſtreet, near the Fly Market, where he tranſacted a very extenſive wholeſale and retail trade.

Davan, Jun., James Davis, Wm. Day,<sup>1</sup> William Deall, James Dean, Elk. Deane, James Deas,<sup>2</sup> Jno. De Clue, John De Forest, Joseph Degroot, Sen., Isaac De Lamate, John Delancey,<sup>3</sup> Jno De Lancey, Jun., Oliver Delancy,<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Delano, Francis Humbert De la Roche, James Demasney, Michael Denny, Elias Desbroffes, James Desbroffes,<sup>5</sup> James Desbroffes, Jun., Henry Detloff, John Detrich, Will<sup>m</sup> Devereaux, David Devoore,<sup>6</sup> Guert Sp<sup>t</sup> De Wint, John Dikeman,<sup>7</sup> Barnnae Dill, Silvanus Dillingham, Anthony Dodane, Amos Dodge, Thomas Dodge, Adam Dolmidge, Robert Donkirz, Archibald Donaldson, Thomas Dorman, Peter Dorry, Walter Dougall, John Dougan, Edward Doughty,<sup>8</sup> Matthew Douglafs,<sup>9</sup> John Dowers, James

<sup>1</sup> William Day, a retailer of liquors in Warren street. At the close of the war he removed to St. John, New Brunswick, and was one of the original grantees of that city.

<sup>2</sup> James Deas, a perukemaker and hairdresser, residing in the lower part of Broad street.

<sup>3</sup> John De Lancey, son of Peter De Lancey, of Westchester county, and his successor in the General Assembly as representative of the borough of Westchester, which office he retained until 1775, when he was elected a member of the Provincial Congress.

<sup>4</sup> Oliver De Lancey was a brigadier-general in the British service, and died in Beverly, Yorkshire, England, in 1785, aged sixty-eight years.

<sup>5</sup> James Desbroffes, doing business "at the Ship-yards," in the vicinity of Catharine street, East River.

<sup>6</sup> David Devoore had been a miller doing business near the Kissing Bridge, which spanned "Devoore's mill-stream." He is said to have built "Cato's" hotel.

<sup>7</sup> John Dickman, alderman of the Out Ward of the city.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Doughty, an unlicensed liquor dealer on Whitehall Dock.

<sup>9</sup> Matthew Douglafs, one of the firm of Douglafs and Van Tuyl, unlicensed



Downes, John Drummond, Edward Drury, Cornelius Drury, John Dudley, Christopher Dugan, Robely Dukely, Nicholas Duley, Jacob Dulmadge, John Duly, John Dumont, Joseph Durbunow, Jacob Durje, Derick Duryee.

William Eames, Edward Eastman, Daniel Ebbets, Christian Eggert, Samuel Ellis (2), William Ellifon, Francis Eliworth, Benj<sup>n</sup> English, James Ettridge.

George Fach, Alex<sup>r</sup> Fairlie, Samuel Falkenhau, Edmund Fanning,<sup>1</sup> John Faulkner, David Fenton, Robert Fenton, Dennis Ferguson, Duncan Ferguson, James Ferguson, Jno Adam Finch (2), Walter Fitz Gerald, John Fleming (3), James Fletcher, Michael Flim, James Flynn, George Folliot,<sup>2</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Forbes, Robert Fordham, Daniel Fortchee, Henry Forster, John Forsyth, Alexander Fortune, William For-

dealers in liquors at retail on the corner opposite the Fly Market (*Foot of Maiden Lane*).

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Edmund Fanning, secretary and son-in-law of Governor William Tryon. He was originally from North Carolina, where he was exceedingly unpopular; and it is probable that Tryon's administration of that government was seriously impaired from that cause. In 1777, he raised a corps of loyalists, which was called the "Associated Refugees," and sometimes "The King's American Regiment," of which he had the command; and it was somewhat celebrated in the Southern campaign of 1780-1, for its spirited conduct in the field. At the close of the war he retired to Nova Scotia, where he became lieutenant-governor; and, in 1786, he was transferred, in the same capacity, to Prince Edward's Island, where he remained until 1805. The time of his death is not recorded.

<sup>2</sup> George Folliot was a merchant transacting an extensive business in this city. He was elected a member of the Provincial Congress, in 1775, but declined; and he also declined to serve as a member of the "Committee of One Hundred," to which he had been elected.



tune, George Fowler, John Fowler,<sup>1</sup> Samuel Franklin, Walter Franklin, Lovis Frauzers, Alexander Frafer, Walter Frazer, Ab<sup>m</sup> Fruge, Daniel Fueter, David Fuhrle, Michael Fung.

Christian Gabble, Alex<sup>r</sup> Galbreath, John Gallaudett, David Ganner, Francis Gantz, Peter Garrabrance, Jun., Frederick Bonn Garten, Matthew Gaskin, Archibald Gatfield,<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Gatfield, Nicholaus Gaub, Andrew Gautier,<sup>3</sup> David Geler, Francois Gerard, William Giffing, Leonard Gildert, Thomas Gillespie, Richard Glebets, John Glover, William Goddington, Ab<sup>m</sup> Gomez, Mofes Gomez, Jun., Peter Goodman, Lodwig Gounzer, Abraham Gouvernuer, James Govers, Peter Graff, Edward Grant, John Grant (2), Thomas Graves, Andrew Gray, John Gray, Wm. Gray, David Gregg,<sup>4</sup> Ican George Gressand, John Grierson, Robert Griffith, John Griffiths,<sup>5</sup> John Grigg,<sup>6</sup> Thomas Grigg, D. Grim,<sup>7</sup> Jacob Grim, Peter Grim, Charles Grimley, Jacob Grindemyer, Thomas Grisdall, Hendrick Gulick.

<sup>1</sup> John Fowler, residing at "Little Bloomingdale."

<sup>2</sup> Archibald Gatfield, an unlicensed dealer of liquors in Slaughter-house street.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Gautier, alderman of the Dock Ward.

<sup>4</sup> David Gregg, probably one of the celebrated firm of Gregg, Cunningham & Co., merchants transacting a very heavy business with foreign countries.

<sup>5</sup> John Griffiths, "Master of the Port."

<sup>6</sup> John Grigg, a retailer of liquors in Sloat alley. At a subsequent period he appears to have become a tallow-chandler, tanner, etc., in which business he became insolvent in 1783.

<sup>7</sup> David Grim, the antiquarian tavern keeper, so well known and gratefully remembered in New York by every student of local history. He formerly

Frederick Haas, George Haafis, Mathias Haerlman, John Halden, Edward Hall, Henry Hall, Peter Hall,<sup>1</sup> James Hallet, Samuel Hallet, Daniel Hallsted, John Hamilton<sup>2</sup> (2), Joseph Handforth, Ab<sup>m</sup> Hangworth, William Hanna, Golt. Hans, Mecil Hanfen, Martin Hanthee, Johannes Harbell, John Hardenburgh,<sup>3</sup> David Hardley, Laurance Hardman, John Harris, Richard Harris (2), Thomas Harrifon, Charles Hart, George Hartman, Laurance Hartwick, Charles Haus, Thomas Hautzman, William Hauxhurft,<sup>4</sup> Joseph Haviland, William Hay, Barrak Hays, David Hays, Thomas Haywood, Jacob Hertz, Geo. Heath, Fred. Wm. Hecht,<sup>5</sup> Isaac Hedges, Valten Hefner, Andrew Heilter, John Henderson, Uriah Hendricks, William Hervey, John Jacob Hetzell, James Hewett, Garrit Heyer, Daniel Hick, Whitehead Hicks,<sup>6</sup> Thomas Hiett, Joseph Hildrith, John Hillman, Michael Hillsteam, John Hillyer, Joseph Hitchcock, Johannis Hoffman, Michael Hoffman,

kept "the Three Tuns," in Chapel street; but, in 1776, he was a retailer in William street.

<sup>1</sup> Peter Hall, a retailer of liquors in Peck slip.

<sup>2</sup> John Hamilton, agent, probably a refugee from South Carolina, who had accepted military appointment under the crown. *Vide* Butler's statement, Tomlinson MSS.

<sup>3</sup> John Hardenbrook, assistant alderman of the Out Ward of the city.

<sup>4</sup> William Hawxhurft, a merchant dealing in pig-iron, anchors, pot-ash, kettles, negro-wenches and children, horses, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Fred. Wm. Hecht, a German, residing in Queen (*now Pearl*) street, who had been commissioned by Governor Tryon as a captain in the loyalist service, as early as October, 1776.

<sup>6</sup> Whitehead Hicks, mayor of the city of New York, from 1766 to 1776.

James Holden,<sup>1</sup> Peter Holmes, James Hope, Rinier Hopper, Yallefs Hopper, Thomas Hopwood, Robert Horne, James Horner,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Horfield, Daniel Horfmanden,<sup>3</sup> Jacob Hortz, Alexander Hofack,<sup>4</sup> Bernard Mich<sup>l</sup> Houfeal,<sup>5</sup> Robert Howard, James Hoy, George Hubnors, Benjamin Hugget,<sup>6</sup> Richard Hughes, Thomas Hughes, Robert Hull,<sup>7</sup> Josefph Hunt, John Fred Huntill, Diederick Hyer.

James Imbrie, Charles Inglis,<sup>8</sup> Levy Ifrael.

Daniel Jacobs, John Johnfon, Robert Johnfton,<sup>9</sup> David Jones, John Jones<sup>10</sup> (2), Samuel Jones, William Jones.

Christian Kauff, John Keen, Andrew Keer, John Kenne-

<sup>1</sup> John Holden, a retailer of liquors near the Upper Barracks, in the upper part of the Park.

<sup>2</sup> James Horner, an unlicenfed retailer of liquors in French-church (*now Pine*) freet, near Broadway.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Horfmanden was the chief juftice of the colony. His wife was Mary, daughter of Colonel Abraham De Peyfter, and widow of Rev. Mr. Vefey, rector of Trinity Church, New York; and he died at Flatbufh, Long Ifland, September 23d, 1778, aged eighty-eight years.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Hofack, an unlicenfed retailer of liquors in Dey freet.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. Bernard Michael Houfeall, V. D. M., senior paftor of the Lutheran German Church.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Huggett, a grocer and dealer in liquors, and affiftant alderman of the North Ward, living and doing bufinefs on the corner of Naffau and Fair (*now Fulton*) freet.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Hull, at "Hull's Tavern," No. 18 Broadway.

<sup>8</sup> Rev. Charles Inglis, affiftant rector of Trinity Church, New York. He fucceeded Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, as rector; but, in 1783, he was obliged to refign and take refuge in Nova Scotia, and fubfequently, he was appointed Lord Bifhop of that colony. In 1809, he was a member of the Council of the Province; and he died in 1816, aged eighty-two.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Johnfon, an unlicenfed retailer of liquors, in Ferry freet.

<sup>10</sup> John Jones, M. D., profeffor of furgery in King's (*Columbia*) College.

dy, Jn<sup>o</sup> J. Kempe,<sup>1</sup> Johannis Kefer, Aaron Keyser, Stephen Kibble, James Killmaster, Linus King, John Kingston, Joseph Kirby, Benja<sup>n</sup> Kiffam,<sup>2</sup> Philip Kiflick,<sup>3</sup> George Klein, John Klein,<sup>4</sup> Jacob Klinek, John C. Knapp,<sup>5</sup> Jacob Knecht, Ab<sup>m</sup> Knickerbacker, John Knoblock, Robert Knox.

Jolt Lachman, Nicholas Lackman, William La Croix, Stephen Ladlam, John Lagear, Thomas Lahriwick, Thomas Lamb, Albert Lamkin, Henry Law, John Lawrance, Stephen Leach, James Leadbelter, John Leake, John Legar, Joseph Lee, John Lell, Garret Lent, James Leonard, Robert Leonard, Alexander Leslie,<sup>6</sup> James Lesly, Michael Lesfler, David Levifon, Christopher Leviffen, John Lewis (2), Patrick Leyburn, Daniel Lightfoot, Barnard Lin, Charles Lindaman, Stroud Cotton Lincoln, Johannis Lindner, Philip

<sup>1</sup> John Tabor Kempe was the attorney-general of the province.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Kiffam, a leading lawyer in the city of New York, under whom Lindley Murray, the grammarian, and John Jay, the chief justice of the United States, read law.

<sup>3</sup> Philip Kiflick, vintner and distiller, at the upper end of Great Queen street (*now Pearl Street*), where his stock of "Home-tun Brandy and Gin, very little inferior to French Brandy and Holland Gin," together with an extensive assortment of wine, liquor, porter, and cider, were offered for sale.

<sup>4</sup> John Klyne, a baker, who at that time lodged with Mr. Daniel Mefnard, Duke (*now Stone*) street.

<sup>5</sup> John Cogghill Knapp, a notorious petty-fugger—a convict who had fled from England for his own benefit—who was doing business on the corner of Broad street and Verlattenberg Hill.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Leslie, A. M., head master of the grammar-school of King's (*Columbia*) College. There was, also, an Alexander Leslie, who was an unlicensed retailer of liquor, near the Barracks (*Parc*) in Chatham street.

Linzie, Leonard Lifpenard, William Litch, George Little, John Lockhart, John Lockman, John Logan, Christopher Long, James Long, John Long, Charles Lorrilliard, Lambert Losije, William Loughhead, James Love, William Lowndes, Thomas Lowrey,<sup>1</sup> William Lowrie, John Andries Lucaim, Henry Ludlam, Daniel Ludlow, Geo. D. Ludlow,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Grey Luebe, Thomas Lupton, Philip Lydig, Thomas Lynch.<sup>3</sup>

W<sup>m</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Bride,<sup>4</sup> James M<sup>c</sup>Candefs, Thomas M<sup>c</sup>Carty, Edward M<sup>c</sup>Collom, Patrick M<sup>c</sup>Connegall, John M<sup>c</sup>Cormick, Archibald M<sup>c</sup>Donald,<sup>5</sup> John M<sup>c</sup>Donnald, Benjamin M<sup>c</sup>Dowal, Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Dowll, Charles M<sup>c</sup>Evers, John M<sup>c</sup>Fall, Dougall M<sup>c</sup>Farlane, John M<sup>c</sup>Gillaray, Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Intire, Patrick M<sup>c</sup>Kay, John M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie, John M<sup>c</sup>Kinlay, Peter M<sup>c</sup>Lean, Neil M<sup>c</sup>Leod, John M<sup>c</sup>Manomy, William M<sup>c</sup>Nabb, Daniel M<sup>c</sup>Onnully, Donald M<sup>c</sup>Pherfon, Dougald M<sup>c</sup>Pherfon, John

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lowry, an unlicensed retailer of liquors, opposite Ofwego market, in Broadway.

<sup>2</sup> George Duncan Ludlow was one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the Province. He resided at Hempstead, Long Island, and suffered greatly from the incursions of the Americans. In 1780, he was appointed master of the rolls, and superintendent of the police on Long Island; and having taken refuge in New Brunswick, in 1783, he was a member of the first council in that province. As the senior member of that body, he administered the government, *ad interim*; and he was the first chief justice of the Supreme Court of that colony. He died at Fredericton, February 12, 1808.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Lynch, a dealer in liquors and negroes, in Duke (*now Stone*) street.

<sup>4</sup> William McBride, an unlicensed retailer of liquors, in Cooper's street, near Lupton's Wharf.

<sup>5</sup> Archibald McDonald, a licensed retailer of liquors, in Church street.

McPherfon,<sup>1</sup> Thomas McWilliams, John Machet, Peter Machet, John Maffet, Thomas Mahan, Abraham Malunar, Peter Mange, Moses Marden,<sup>2</sup> Jones Marle, Joakim Marr, John Marshall<sup>3</sup> (2), Nathaniel Marlton, Henry Marx, John Markelyn, Thomas Maion,<sup>4</sup> Matthew Maugere, James Maxwell, Thomas Medanel, John Michalfal, John Middlemafs, Peter Middleton,<sup>5</sup> James Mildrum,<sup>6</sup> David Henry Millar, Charles Miller, Hugh Miller, Jacob Miller, John Miller, Jothua Miller, Michael Miller, Philip Miller, Robert Miller, Thomas Miller, Sam<sup>l</sup> Millfon, John Minufis, James Mitchell, Vincr Mitchell, Jacob Moell, William Mook, Jofeph Moon, Ab<sup>m</sup> Moor, Blutty Moor, John Moor, Benj<sup>n</sup> Moore,<sup>7</sup> Boltis Moore, Henry Moore, James Moore, Jeremiah Moore, John Moore<sup>8</sup> (2), James Moran,<sup>9</sup> Philip Morgan, George Morrel, Martin Morris, Charles Morfe,

<sup>1</sup> John McPherfon, a retailer of liquors doing bufinefs in Broadway.

<sup>2</sup> Moses Mardin, an unlicensed retailer of liquor, in Broadway, oppofite the Bowling Green.

<sup>3</sup> John Marshall, an unlicensed retailer of liquors, in Old Dutch Church ftreet (*Exchange Pl.*).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Maion, a retailer of liquors, in Broadway, corner of Beaver ftreet.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Peter Middleton, profeflor of the theory of medicine and of materia medica in King's (*Calumbus*) College. (*Vide* page 72.)

<sup>6</sup> James Maldrem, an unlicensed retailer of liquors, "oppofite the Slip Market."

<sup>7</sup> Rev. Benjamin Moore, affiftant rector of Trinity Church, New York, fucceeded Dr. Inglis, as rector, and fubfequently became bifhop of the diocefe. He died February 27, 1816.

<sup>8</sup> John Moore, deputy collector of customs at this port.

<sup>9</sup> James Moran was firft clerk in the custom-houfe in this city.



Isaac Mott, William Mucklevain, Jeremiah Mullar, Charles Muller, Frederick Muller, George Muller, John God. Muller, Samuel Murgiffroyd, Philip Murphy, Lindley Murray, John Murray, Jun., Robert Murray,<sup>1</sup> George Myer, James Myer, Samuel Myers, George Myir.

Michael Nailor, Samuel Naroy, David Nathan, David Navaro, James Neaven, Caspar Nettle, Samuel Nichols, Edward Nicoll, William Niers, John Nixon, John Noblit, William Norman, Benj<sup>n</sup> Norwood, John Norwood, Vanderclife Norwood, Valentine Nutter.<sup>2</sup>

Garret Oaks,<sup>3</sup> Henry O Brien, Benj<sup>n</sup> Ogden, John Ogilvie, Alexander Ogsbury, John O'Neill, Joseph Orchard, Philip Ofward, Jacob Ott, Joseph Owl, Walter Owl.

Aaron Packman, William Pagan, Hayes Pannell, Francis Panton, William Parcels, Thomas Parrifien, John Pafca, William Patton, Thomas Paul, James O Pava, George Peitfch, Gibbert Pell, Richard Penny, Henry W. Perry, Mervin Perry,<sup>4</sup> Harry Peters, Hugh Philips, Adolph. Philipse, Fred<sup>k</sup> Philipse, William Poole, James Potter, Jacob

<sup>1</sup> Robert Murray, a Friend, and head of the house of Murray, Sanfom & Co., among the leading merchants of Colonial New York. His place of business was in Queen (*Pearl*) street, between Beekman and Burling Slips; and his residence on Murray Hill. (*Vide* page 29.)

<sup>2</sup> Valentine Nutter, bookfeller and stationer, opposite the coffee-house in Wall street, where he remained until the close of the war.

<sup>3</sup> Garret Oaks, a retailer of liquors doing business on Cruger's Wharf, (*between Old and Coenties Slips*).

<sup>4</sup> Mervin Perry, "Repeating and Plain Watch and Clock maker, from London," at the sign of "the Dial," six doors below Gaine's printing office, the same side the way (*Pearl street*, eight doors below Wall street).



Pozer,<sup>1</sup> Thomas Price, David Provoost, David Provolt, Capper Pryer, Edward Pryor, John Philip Puntzius.

Benjamin Quackenbosc, Luke C. Quick, Thomas Quill, John Randiker, Rem. Rapelje,<sup>2</sup> John Rapp, Frederick Ranfier, Henry Reden, Stephen Reeves,<sup>3</sup> George Reichle, Nich<sup>s</sup> Remind, George Remfen,<sup>4</sup> John A. Remfen, Jacob Resler, Fred<sup>k</sup> Rhinelande,<sup>5</sup> Philip Rhinelande, Henry Ricker, David Rider, John Risler, John Ritter, J. Roberts,<sup>6</sup> John Robertson, Ezekiel Robins, Jarvis Roebuck, James Rogers,<sup>7</sup> Godfred Roltonour, Cornelius Romme, Alexander Rofs (2), James Rofs, Robert Rofs, Jasper Ruckell, William Ruddle, Fred<sup>k</sup> Ruger, Jacob Ruoffer, Cornelius Ryan, John Rykeman.

John Sackett, John Samler, Thomas Sample, Sam. Samuel, Jacob Santar, John Saunders, Nicholas Scande, John Scandlin, Coenradt Schultez, Christian Schultz, Adam

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Pozer, proprietor of "The Philadelphia Stage house," in White Hall.

<sup>2</sup> Rem Rapelje, whose punishment inflicted by the people on the twelfth of June, 1776, has been described in Peter Elting's letter to Captain Varick, page 97.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Reeves, formerly one of the firm of Whitehouse & Reeve, jewellers, doing business in Queen (*Pearl*) street, near the corner of Burling Slip.

<sup>4</sup> George Remfen, an unlicensed retailer of liquors, in Water street, near the Exchange Bridge (*broad street*).

<sup>5</sup> Frederic Rhinelande, a very heavy importer of crockery and other merchandise, who transacted business at Burling Slip; and in 1783, transacted business at No. 168 Water street.

<sup>6</sup> John Roberts, Esq., high sheriff of the city and county of New York.

<sup>7</sup> James Rogers, an unlicensed retailer of liquors, in Queen (*Pearl*) street.

Schuumburg,<sup>1</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Scorfield,<sup>2</sup> William Scott,<sup>3</sup> J. Seagroove, Joshua Seaman, James Seamans, Levy Seamans, Casper Semler, Jacob Shafer, George Shaw, James Shaw, John Shaw,<sup>4</sup> John Sheppherd, Jun., E. G. Shewkirk, Daniel Shier, Henry Shier, Martin Shier, John Shoals, Abraham Shotwell, John Shouldis, Christopher Shundel, Rich<sup>d</sup> Sibley, Henry Simmerman, Joseph Simmons, George Simpson, Sam<sup>l</sup> Sp. Skinner, John Slidell, Joshua Slidell, John Sloan, John Smart, Walter Smealee, George Smelzell, Albert Smith, Barnardus Smith, Christopher Smith, Johannis Smith, John Smith,<sup>5</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Sam. Smith, Rich<sup>d</sup> Smith, Robert Smith, Thomas Smith,<sup>6</sup> William Smith (3), John Snell,<sup>7</sup> Randolph Snowden, Henry Sobouvon, Isaac Solomons, Tiunis Somerindicke, Peter Sparling, William Spenns, John Spers, Hugh Spier, John Spier, Frederick Spirck, Gregory Springall, Hugh Sproat, Thomas Sproat, Jacob Spury, Melcher Stahl, Daniel Stallmann, George Stanton, Michael Stavener, John Steel, Robert Steel, Wm. Stepple,

<sup>1</sup> Adam Shamburg, an unlicensed dealer in liquors, in Chatham street.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Scorfield, a licensed retailer of liquors, "back of Henry White's."

<sup>3</sup> William Scott, a deputy sheriff of the county of New York. He was a retailer of liquors on Broadway, near the Oswego market.

<sup>4</sup> John Shaw, a jeweller doing business at the sign of "the Crown," in Nassau street, near John street.

<sup>5</sup> John Smith, a warden of the port.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Smith, a merchant doing business in Hanover square.

<sup>7</sup> John Snell, an unlicensed retailer of liquors, opposite the ship-yards, in the vicinity of our Market street.

James Stevenfon, George Stewart,<sup>1</sup> Joseph Steyner, John Stiles, Thomas Stilwell, Jan. Stockholm, Nicholas Stompf, Philip Stonestreet, Benjamin Stout,<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Stout, Jun., John B. Stout, Richard Stout, Robert Stout, James Striker, Joseph Stringhans, Johannis Stroutter, James Stuart, Francis Stuck, P. Stuyvesant, Caleb Sutton, William Sutton, Godfred Swan, Will<sup>m</sup> Swanfir, Christopher Sweedland, John Swere, Philip Sykes.

William Tailer, James Taylor, Willet Taylor, William Taylor, David Thomas, Henry Thomas, Walter Thomas, David Thompson, George Thompson, John Thompson (2), Peter Thompson, Sam<sup>l</sup> Thopfon, Fred. Thonnaire, Albertus Tiebout, Robert Till, James Toffie, William Tongue,<sup>3</sup> Daniel Tooker, Silas Totten, George Trail, Jonathan Treemain, Francis Trevillian,<sup>4</sup> Tobias Trim, James Tucker, Jonathan Twene, Jacob Tyler.

Harman Utt, Benj<sup>n</sup> Underhill, Nicodemus Ungerer, John Christopher Urnhautter, George Uril, Henry Urtick,<sup>5</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Urtick.

<sup>1</sup> James Stewart, a dealer in dry goods, opposite Frederic Rhinelanders, in Burling Slip.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Stout, a wholesale dealer in wines, groceries, dye-woods, etc., doing business in Queen (*Peart*) street, near Peck Slip.

<sup>3</sup> William Tongue, a general broker and auctioneer, doing business opposite to Hugh Gaine's bookstore, Hanover square, next door but one from Wall street.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Traveller (*Trevillian*), an unlicensed liquor dealer in Murray street.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Urtick, one of the firm of William and Henry Urtick, importers, etc., whose infidelity to the non-importation agreement had excited the in-

Fanconier Vallean, John Vance, Aug<sup>t</sup> Van Cortlandt, Corn<sup>s</sup> V. D. Bergh, Mindert Van Every, Jacobus Van Nordan,<sup>1</sup> Jacobus Van Norden, Jun., Andrew Van Tuyl, John Van Vorst, Wynandt Van Zandt,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Vardill,<sup>3</sup> Thomas Vaffie, William Vermilye, Philip Verner.

W<sup>m</sup> Waddell,<sup>4</sup> Ab<sup>m</sup> Wagg, John Wagna, George Walf, John Walker<sup>5</sup> (2), George Wall, John Walmsley, Jacob Walton,<sup>6</sup> Thomas Warner,<sup>7</sup> William Waterman, Jacob Watfon<sup>8</sup> (2), John Watts, James Wear, William Weaver, Jun., James Webb, William Webb, Arnold Webbers, Jacob Webbers, Philip Webbers, Michael Weber, Edward Webster, Johannis Weifs, James Wells, Oliver Wells,

dignation of the Sons of Liberty, April 6, 1775. Henry was also the proprietor of a retail liquor store on Potbaker's Hill (*Liberty, near Nassau*).

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Van Orden, a licensed retailer of liquors, opposite the Bear (*Washington*) Market.

<sup>2</sup> Wynandt Van Zandt, one of the firm of Van Zandts and Keteltas, importers.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Vardell, a warden of the port.

<sup>4</sup> William Waddell, alderman of the North Ward, residing in King (*Pine*) street.

<sup>5</sup> John Walker, a licensed retailer of liquors, near the Breastwork, in the lower part of Broadway.

<sup>6</sup> Jacob Walton, one of the firm of William and Jacob Walton & Co., importers. He was a member of the General Assembly from this city; and one of the most influential citizens of his day. His wife, a daughter of Hon. Henry Cruger, died on the 1st August, 1782; and eleven days after, he followed her.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Warner, an unlicensed retailer of liquors at Leary Slip, near the Ferry stairs.

<sup>8</sup> Jacob Watfon, a merchant dealing in pig-iron, anchors, pot-ash kettles, negro wenches and children, hofes, etc.

George Welth, Thomas Welth,<sup>1</sup> Christian Wernir, Evert Wessels, Gilbert Wessells,<sup>2</sup> Jno. Wetherhead,<sup>3</sup> Thomas Whaley, Charles White, Henry White,<sup>4</sup> Robert White, Thomas White,<sup>5</sup> William White, John Whitman, George Wighton, Thomas Wilkes, Jacob Wilkins,<sup>6</sup> Robert Wilkinton, John Michael Will, Abraham Willet, George William, Benjamin Williams, William Williams,<sup>7</sup> George Willis, Jun., Fredk Windlith, George Winfield, William Winterton, Jn<sup>o</sup> Witterhorn, George Wittmer, John Witzell, John Woods, William Wragg, Thomas Wright, George Wyley.

Ab<sup>m</sup> Young, Hamilton Young,<sup>8</sup> John Young,<sup>9</sup>

George Zindall, Lodwick [ ? ].

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Welth, a licensed retailer of liquors, opposite the Fly Market.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Wessell, a resident of Pearl street.

<sup>3</sup> John Wetherhead was an importer, transacting a heavy business in King street. He offered the usual great variety of goods which the merchants of that day kept on hand.

<sup>4</sup> Henry White was a member of the Council. He was a merchant in 1769, doing business in the De Peyster house, on the Fly; and his advertisements, offering for sale the usual variety of nails, teas, window glass, sail cloth, osnaburg, Madeira wine, etc., appear in the papers of that day. He retired to England in 1783.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas White, an unlicensed retailer of liquors in the Bowery lane.

<sup>6</sup> Jacob Wilkins, a dealer in hardware, bellows, lamp oil, etc., doing business near Coentie Market.

<sup>7</sup> William Williams, a licensed retailer of liquors in the Bowery lane.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton Young, dealer in crockery, dry goods, pork, gold and silver buttons, etc., in Little Dock (*Water*) street, between the Coffee-house (*Wall Street*) and Old Slip.

<sup>9</sup> John Young, a wholesale dealer in groceries, silks, etc., doing business in Smith (*William*) street.

We William Waddell, one of the Alderman of the City & County of New York, Esq<sup>r</sup>. and James Downes of the said City, Gentlemen, Do hereby certify that we attended, the signing of the foregoing Representation, & that the Subscribers hereunto attended Voluntarily, as Witnesses our hands, this 24<sup>th</sup> day of October, One Thousand, seven hundred, & seventy six,

WILLIAM WADDELL  
JAMES DOWNES

ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR TRYON.

To His Excellency W<sup>m</sup> Tryon Esq<sup>r</sup>, Captain General and Governor in Chief in, and over, the province of New York, and the territories depending thereon in America Chancellor & Vice Admiral of the Same——

We the Inhabitants of the City & County of New York, beg leave to Congratulate your Excellency on your return to the Capital of your Government; and to assure you, that we feel the sincerest Joy on this happy Event, which opens a Prospect that we shall once more experience the Blessings of Peace and Security under his Majesty's auspicious Government & Protection—blessings which we formerly enjoyed under your Excellency's mild Administration, and which we Ardently wish to have renewed.——

Persevering in our Loyalty and Unshaken attachment to our Gracious Sovereign, in this time of Distress and trial, and anxious to testify our affection for him, we have

embraced the Earliest Opportunity to Petition the Kings Commissioners they would restore this City & County to his Majesty's Peace. Although many of the most respectable Citizens, and a much greater number of the Inferior Classes, have been driven Off by the Calamities of War, or sent Prisoners to new England, and other distant parts; yet we hope that the numbers still remaining, and who have voluntarily subscribed, may be deemed sufficient to intitle this district to his Majesty's grace—whilst the sufferings which our absent Fellow Citizens undergo for the Royal Cause plead in their behalf with the Commissioners From whose well known humanity, benevolence, and enlarged Sentiments, we have the most flattering Expectations. To your Excellency we naturally look up for Assistance; we therefore request, that you would be pleased to present our Petition to the Commissioners, and otherwise Exert yourself, that the Prayer of it may be granted; as it is our present desire, and what we Esteem the Greatest earthly Felicity, to remain Subjects of the British Government in union with the Parent State

Signed by Desire, and in behalf of the  
Inhabitants by

DANIEL HORSMANN

NEW YORK Octr 16th, 1776

To which his Excellency was pleased to write the following Letter in answer



NEW YORK 25<sup>th</sup> October—1776.

Sir

The Address you deliver'd to me in behalf of the Inhabitants of the City & County of New York, cannot fail of being highly agreeable to me, as it was, accompanied, with a dutiful Petition & representation from them to the Kings Commissioners, for restoring peace to his Majesty's Colonies—testifying their Loyalty, to our most Gracious Sovereign, professing a Zealous attachment to the British Constitution, and declaring the warmest desire, for a lasting union with the parent state.

Still solicitous as I am for the welfare of the Inhabitants of this Colony in General, and earnestly wishing for a restoration of Public Harmony, and the re-establishment of the ancient Constitutional authority of Government, I have cheerfully embraced the Opportunity of presenting this Day, the Address to Lord Howe, who was pleased to signify to me “he would take the earliest opportunity of communicating with General Howe on the Occasion.”

The Inhabitants may be assured I shall support their wishes with my best Endeavours, although the Completion of it must be left to the decision of his Majesty's Commissioners, in whom the highest National confidence is reposed.

I am with regard

Sir, your most Obedient Servant

WM TRYON.

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Chief Justice Horsmanden.

## PREPARATIONS FOR EVACUATION.

[The power of the British force in America having been broken by the capture and defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown, negotiations were set on foot for bringing about a peace. After the delay of nearly two years, a definitive treaty was signed at Paris by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, and preparations were made for evacuating the city of New York, the last of the British stronghold within the original thirteen states. At the request of Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief, three commissioners were appointed by Congress to superintend the embarkations from this port, that no negroes or other property of American inhabitants might be carried away. The commissioners appointed for this purpose were Messrs. Ebert Brenton, William S. Smith, and Daniel Parker.

The following letters were written from New York City to General Washington, by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, while acting in his capacity of commissioner. They will have additional interest when taken in connection with Mr. Butler's "Statement" which follows.]

### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SMITH'S LETTERS.

NEW YORK 15th July 1783

Sir

A very considerable embarkation of Refugees took place last week bound for Nova Scotia & Canada one large Transport was filled with soldiers of different corps for Quebec & a number of the 17<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons are discharged & accompany the Refugees to the new Country—The nonsuch a 64 sailed on thursday last for Europe with the Regt of Hesse Hannau The inspection of the above vessels composing a fleet of twenty two sail of Large

Transport Ships employ'd me five days in the last week. Mr. Benson's absence and Mr Parkers indisposition throws the whole weight of Business upon me, and as they begin to appear disposed to proceed with vigour upon the business of the evacuation Mr Benson's assistance will be very acceptable—I shall not presume to make any observations on the advantages which our Country may derive from our exertions in this Line, as your Excellency is possessed of a regular Detail of our proceedings upon the most important Points of our mission and the attention which the British Comm<sup>r</sup> in Chief has paid to our remonstrances &c there fully appear

About two thousand Hessians will embark to-morrow & the next day for Europe—and about one thousand Blacks for Nova Scotia, further representations to Sir Guy Carleton upon these subjects I conceive superfluous & shall only attend to the examination of the ships, registering the slaves & stopping such Property as is evidently free from the last of their Proclamations Cases of this kind have presented themselves and I have been successful—from the last fleet we brought seven blacks but have not been able fully to decide for want of the attendance of the Claimants.

I think it necessary to inform your Excellency that some persons from the eastern ports of the Continent have forged in this City a Number of Mr Morris's Notes of the last emission, the Principals are detected and upon application to the Commandant I obtained a Guard last night, had

two of them taken & confined—Sir Guy Carleton is fully disposed to give every assistance requisite for their further detection and punishment

I have the honor to be with great respect &c

His Excellency Genl Wathington

NEW YORK 26th August 1783.

Sir

The Books which your Excellency requested should be forwarded by your Letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> instant were committed to the Care of Col<sup>l</sup> Cobb. I should have accompanied them with a Letter but was confined to my bed with a fevere fever—from which I have only within a few days recover'd—

The Caps for the Boy's should have been forwarded

“ Soon after the commissaries arrived in New York, General Wathington sent to Colonel Smith a list of the titles of books which he had selected from a catalogue published by a bookseller in a gazette, and which he requested Colonel Smith to purchase for him. The reader may be curious to know the kind of works to which his thoughts were at this time directed. They were the following: Life of Charles the Twelfth; Life of Louis the Fifteenth; Life and Reign of Peter the Great; Robertson's History of America; Voltaire's Letters; Vertot's Revolution of Rome and Revolution of Portugal; Life of Gustavus Adolphus; Sully's Memoir; Goldsmith's Natural History; Campaign of Marshal Turenne; Chambers's French and English Dictionary; Locke on the Human Understanding; Robertson's Charles the Fifth.”—Sparks's *Washington*, vol. viii., p. 431. To which list we may add, from a letter of Colonel Smith's, the following works as having been sent by him through Dr. Le Meyer: Moore's Travels, in 5 vols.; Young's Journey through Ireland, 2 vols.; and the Trial between Sir Richard Wortley and George Mourin Bufel.

before this had not the workman I employ'd undertook a matter that he was not sufficiently acquainted with I was obliged to return them to him after they were finished & employ another person—they shall be forwarded as soon as they are compleat

Inclofed are two Letters which Came in the laft packett from England

About fix thousand Hessians have sail'd for Europe & all the artillery & stores are nearly Embarked & will sail immediately for the West Indies—Sir Guy Carleton appears anxious to effect the Evacuation speedily—on Saturday last at dinner he informed me of his determination to move with all possible expedition and said that the only thing which detained him was the refugees whose situation humanity obliged him to attend to—they are discharging great numbers of their soldiers many of whom have applyed to me to know whether they can be permitted to remain here—I have taken the Liberty to give them encouragement & must observe to your Excellency that in consequence of numberless warm publications in our papers and the unconstitutional proceedings of Committees I suppose not less than fifteen thousand inhabitants will be drove from this Country who are not conscious of any other Crime than that of residing within the British Lines, some perhaps have acted tho' in general with reluctance & who I should suppose might be excused upon this principle that the subjects of any State or Country owe allegiance

to the powers under which they reside and are obligated to lend their assistance when called for in return for protection and the benefits of Society—however this is an opinion that the people at large will not admit of in consequence of which upon the evacuation we shall find a City destitute of Inhabitants & a settlement made upon our frontiers by a people whose minds being sown'd by the severity of their treatment will prove troublesome neighbours and perhaps lay the foundation of future contests which I suppose would be for the Interest of our Country to avoid

I am with great respect &c

[For Washington's Reply, see "Sparks's Washington, Vol. viii., p. 476; to which Lieut. Col. Smith made answer as follows: ]

NEW YORK 5th Sept. 1783.

Sir

I rec'd your Excellency's Letter of the 31<sup>o</sup> ulto and am always particularly happy whenever my conduct meets with your approbation. I must acknowledge myself obliged by the advice contained in the latter part of the Letter relative to granting Passports to persons going into the Country—protections I never presumed to give—it may not be improper to inform your Excellency of the principles upon which I move and the Ideas I hold up to these people—both in public and private conversations I have always held it as ridiculous for Individuals to be sitting for the opinion of their friends respecting their stay in this Country—asserting that by applying to their own feelings they may be bet-

ter able to determine that I am confident that every person found within those parts formerly possessed by the British Troops would be entitled to and receive the protection of government at least from Injury and insult of the people until a proper investigation can be made respecting their Conduct when if it appears that they have in any instance run counter to the laws of their Country or extended their actions further than the perfect right of individuals would justify & what they owe to the Government under which they resided they must expect punishment adequate to their Crimes, which I am confident would never be inflicted but in cases which Justice would warrant and which upon examination would tend to confirm and render respectable rather than injure our National Character—that the Gentlemen holding the reins of Civil Government have a perfect Idea of the rights of the Citizen and are attached to the Constitution of their Country that at the same time they would exert the powers of Government to shelter the meanest Character from personal injury the most exalted need never flatter himself that his wealth or station can effect the operation of the Laws provided by his Conduct he has exposed himself to their lash—upon this foundation when pressed I give my opinion, but have rather been careful in avoiding political conversations being a subject which in general ought to be handled with great delicacy particularly by Military Characters in the present situation of affairs by the Bearer Ensign Shyter late of the German Troops I



send the Caps for the Boys Should they prove too large small Cushions within the Crown will make them fit & sett easier than without—the above mentioned Gentleman was A. C. to Lt Genl De Knoblock has obtained a very honorable dismission & intends settling in this Country.

I am &c

William Stephens Smith, the writer of the above letters filled other positions of importance during the struggle for American independence, among which was that of acting commissary-general of prisoners at Dobbs's Ferry.

At the close of the war, when John Adams, afterward President Adams, was appointed minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Great Britain, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith was appointed his secretary of legation. It was during his residence in that capacity at London, that Mr. Smith became the son-in-law of Mr. Adams by marriage with his only daughter.

That Mr. Smith enjoyed the esteem of General Washington is apparent from the fact that when, in the year 1778, Washington was created by Congress lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the United States armies, the name of William S. Smith was immediately proposed by him to the secretary of war as a brigadier general, or failing that, as an adjutant-general. He did not obtain either of these appointments, but was made colonel, and afterward surveyor and inspector of the port of New York.

He was engaged in the expedition under General Miranda, upon the failure of which he retired to the interior of New York state, from whence he was sent as representative to Congress in 1813. He died in 1816.

CASE OF WILLIAM BUTLER, ESQ., LATE ASSISTANT  
DEPUTY COMMISSARY GENERAL AT NEW YORK.

[The following appears to have been a case which was made up for submission to the law-officers of the crown, for their decision respecting the individual liability, under the treaties, of Mr. Butler, a staff-officer under Generals Howe, Clinton, and Carleton, for rent and damages of premises within the city of New York, which were owned by Whigs who had retired from the city, and occupied by the British officers during their occupation of New York from September, 1776, to November 25, 1783.

It is interesting in itself, simply as a legal paper; but it is especially interesting from the details of the government of the city while it was under martial law, which it furnishes to the student of local history; and from the several orders, which have been copied at length, and are embraced within it.]

In the beginning of the year 1776, the Rebels (now Americans) strongly fortified the City & Island of New York & having collected a large body of continental troops & militia, exhibited every appearance of a determined & vigorous defence<sup>1</sup>

But in the month of September following, the kings troops having effected a landing on New York island,<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> The preparations which were made at New York, in the beginning of 1776, for the defence of the city, have been fully described in the "Correspondence of the Provincial Congress of New York;" in the "Memoirs of General Lee," pp. 12-15; Booth's "New York," pp. 493-495; and in the extracts of letters in this volume, pp. 82-107.

<sup>2</sup> This landing, which was effected on the fifteenth of September, between Turtle Bay and the city, was attended with some of the most disgraceful

rebels made a very precipitate retreat from the city,<sup>1</sup> leaving their cannon & great quantities of military & naval stores of every kind behind them<sup>2</sup>—most of these stores were lodged in private warehouses, there being no other public deposits, than the bridewell<sup>3</sup> & powder house<sup>4</sup>

Nineteen twentieths at least of the inhabitants with their families & effects had left that city between the latter part of the year 1775 & the month of June 1776<sup>5</sup> & these persons may be distinguished under the following heads.

First. Rebels or persons in opposition to his Majesty's government & in civil or military capacities.

Second. Those who feared the consequences of remaining in a besieged town.<sup>6</sup>

Third. Those who were loyalists & availed themselves of that opportunity to avoid militia duty (which without distinction all the male inhabitants between sixteen & sixty

teens of the war—the American troops acting in the most dastardly manner before the advance guards of the enemy, and retiring without firing a shot.

<sup>1</sup> The "precipitation" of the retreat from New York, on the fifteenth of September, 1776, may be seen from the excellent account of it in Davis's "Memoirs of Burr," I., pp. 100-126.

<sup>2</sup> "Most of our heavy cannon, and a part of our stores and provisions, which we were about removing, were unavoidably left in the city, though every means had been used to prevent it."—*Gen. Washington to President of Congress, 16 September, 1776.*

<sup>3</sup> The "Old Bridewell" which stood in the Park.

<sup>4</sup> This powder-house stood on the south-western bank of "the Fresh-water," in the vicinity of the intersection of Pearl and Centre streets.

<sup>5</sup> See letter of Garith Harlin to Wm. Radcliff, *ante* pp. 35-37.

<sup>6</sup> See letter of Garith Harlin just quoted.

years were subjēt to) & retired into different parts of the Country—and

Fourth Some hundreds of persons who were taken up & sent into confinement, or on parole in different parts of the country by orders of the Generals, Provincial Congress, or Committees on account of their loyalty<sup>1</sup>

On taking possession of the city of New York, the Commander in chief was pleased to direct William Butler Esq to take an account of all the derelict property, & make report every evening of his proceedings to Gen<sup>l</sup> Robertson then Commander of the City<sup>2</sup>

Mr Butler accordingly took an account of all the property found in the different houses & stores, that were abandoned by the proprietors or tenants, & reported in writing to the General (as he had been directed) the quantity & nature of such property

A distribution of the various stores found in the city was therefore made to the several departments and

To the Commissary General

Commanding officer of Engineers

Commissary of Artillery

Quarter Master General, and

Barrack Master General

<sup>1</sup> See letter of John Varick, jr., *ante* pp. 91-93.

<sup>2</sup> "General Robertson, then commander of the city." While he commanded the city he lived in William street, near John, and at 109 Pearl street; while governor of the province, in the Beekman House, near Turtle Bay.

such parts of those stores as came within their respective departments were delivered for his majestys service. The surplus consisting of naval stores were applied to the use of his majestys navy.

Accounts were also taken of the vacant dwelling houses & storehouses &c, distinguishing the proprietors whether Rebels or friends to government as far as the persons employed on this duty from their own knowledge or the best information could ascertain.

For the purpose of carrying on the business of his majestys naval yard, lots of ground & wharfs were required, as well as dwelling houses and storehouses: the former for the accommodation of the different officers, and their offices, & the latter for the security of public stores & materials. For this purpose, several houses on the East river, & large lots of ground were inclosed, & in addition to the night guard composed of the artificers employed in the yard, a subaltern's guard from the troops in garrison, was constantly mounted for the protection thereof.

On application to the Admiral, the legal proprietors of some of the lots, who were then within the British lines were allowed an annual rent for the same.

The different departments of the army, required dwelling houses & store houses, also wharfs & lots of ground contiguous to the rivers for the various purposes of their appointment.

Mr Butler was also directed to assist the Quarter Master

General in making & settling the arrangements of Stores, wharfs &c which being done, to the Commissary General's department,<sup>1</sup> several wharfs & storehouses on the East river, were assigned for the receipt & security of provisions from on board the Transports from Europe, & proper houses for officers. And on the North or Hudsons River several vacant lots of ground contiguous to that river were enclosed for a forage yard & wharfs on that river were also occupied for the landing of such forage—

To the other departments were assigned houses stores wharfs & lots of ground as near each other as possible. It was absolutely necessary that the public stores should be near each other on account of the centinels required to protect them, from being set fire to or plundered

Many of the houses, stores & wharfs occupied in the Commissary Generals department, were the property of persons then under the protection of government & faithful subjects to the King. On representing their situation to Dan<sup>l</sup> Chamier Esq<sup>r</sup> then Commissary General, it was agreed that rent for those houses & stores (the property of such loyalists) should be paid, & in order that such rent might be fairly & equitably ascertained & settled, two respectable & disinterested Citizens were requested to value & ascertain the annual rents of such stores: which was accordingly done; & their Certificate declaring the rent of

<sup>1</sup> “*The Commissary-general's department.*” Daniel Chamier was the commissary-general of the British forces at that time.

such store &c. & a Certificate from the Deputy Commissary's in whole charge such store &c was, certifying the time the same was occupied in that department, rent was punctually paid, & so continued to be paid until the evacuation of New York in 1783. The residue of the houses, stores & wharfs belonging to Persons without the British Lines, were considered as Rebel property & occupied as such without any charge to government

After the troops were accommodated with quarters the departments with houses & stores, for the purposes before mentioned and the different Regiments with stores for their baggage, a great number of houses in different parts of the city remained unappropriated except by the indulgence of the Commander in chief, Commandant or Barrack Master General as Tenants at will, liable to be turned out at a moments warning. A return was therefore ordered to be made of all houses & stores, with the proprietors names, by whom occupied & by whose authority. Also the number of fire places & rooms, state & condition of each house, with the street & number.

The Inhabitants from the arrival of his Majesty's Troops till the evacuation of New York in Nov<sup>r</sup> 1783 were freed from the payment of taxes of any kind either for the purpose of lighting the lamps, or cleaning the city, repairs of the pumps, streets or roads, or other public works, as well as the maintenance of the poor.

The markets were raised above eight hundred P<sup>c</sup> for



the necessaries of life. The landlords from the demand for houses raised their rents on an average at four times the sum such houses had rented previous to the rebellion. And the vast number of merchants & others daily arriving in the city was the cause of a constant increase in the article of house rent.

At this time, December 1777, the poor were greatly distressed: & General Robertson then Commandant of New York was pleased to appoint nineteen gentlemen from the different wards of the city, to solicit contributions for their relief.<sup>1</sup> Those Gentlemen collected such a sum as afforded a temporary relief. These gentlemen with the Magistrates of Police were then formed into a vestry & the alms house & poor of the city were committed to their care & latterly

<sup>1</sup> The following is a copy of the proclamation under which this committee was appointed, copied from Hugh Gaine's "*New York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury.*" No. 1366, Monday, Dec. 29, 1777.

By MAJOR GENERAL  
JAMES ROBERTSON,  
Commandant in the City of New York.

WHEREAS it is represented to me that the Poor of this City cannot be properly relieved without some Provision be made for that Purpose, as there is not a vestry at present in this City to assess the Quotas of the Inhabitants, and to Superintend the Poor as formerly; and it appearing to me highly reasonable that some Method should be adopted for their Relief, and *Elias Desbroffes, Miles Sherbrooke, Isaac Low, Charles Nicoll, Gabriel H. Ludlow, James Jamney, Richard Sharpe, Charles Shaw, Hamilton Young, Theophylact Bache, Rem Rapalje, Feronimus Ayllyn, William Walton, William Laight, Willett Taylor, William Ujtick, Peter Stuyvesant, Nicholas Bayard, and John Dyckman,* of this City, Gentlemen, having offered

the pumps, lamps &c. This Vestry had a Treasurer & Secretary the former to receive & pay monies on their account & the latter to keep minutes of their proceedings. Proper funds for the execution of the trust reposed in them were necessary—therefore the rents of such houses & stores as were not wanted for the service of government & the ferries & markets were appropriated to the funds for the vestry—the fees arising from licences & excise, fines inflicted for breach of orders, Proclamations of the peace, or other offences were also added & ordered to be paid into the hands of their Treasurer. He was accountable for the payment & receipt of all monies on their account, not only to the Vestry, but when required, furnished the Commander in Chief & Commandant, with his accounts—When he gave a receipt for rent such receipt specified that the sum had been paid by orders of the Commander in Chief.

to take upon themselves the discharge of the Trust hereinafter reposed in them: I HAVE therefore thought fit hereby to authorize them to solicit and receive the Donations of the Charitable and well-disposed, and to appropriate the same to the Relief of the Poor, according to their several Wants and Necessities.

*GIVEN under my Hand at the City of New York, the 27th Day of December, in the Eighteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign, Anno Domini, 1777.*

JAMES ROBERTSON, M. G.

And Commandant of New York.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the report of John Smythe, the Collector for the Vestry, that the "Cash received for half a Year's Rent, to the 1st May, last, (1778) of Sundry Persons occupying Houses to which they had no Claim or Title, as per Particulars, in the Hands of John Smyth, Esq" was £2244 2s. 10d.,

Whenever the proprietors of houses so rented out by the vestry came within the British lines, & made application to the Commandant, their pretensions were referred to the vestry, & on their report & recommendation, the property was restored—and

When the Proprietors of houses or stores in the king's service or barrack department came in, & made similar applications their pretensions were referred to the Magistrates of Police, & Barrack Master & on their report the property was restored, unless in some instances, where his Majesty's service would not permit.

The wharfs till the first January 1779 had been occupied by his majesty's Ships & transports in government service, without paying any wharfage, but as many of them belonged to Loyalists, it was determined, that on the proprietors making oath as to the property, & that no persons without the British lines (with an exception in regard to any Copartner in such wharf) were interested or concerned therein the Commandant gave his permission to such proprietor to occupy his wharf or part of a wharf & receive the usual & customary wharfage, on condition that such proprietor kept the said wharf in good & sufficient repair.

Capt. Kennedy & Mr. Lefferts owned one of the wharfs in the Commissary Generals department. Captain Kennedy was allowed & paid by the Commissary General one dollar

while the expenditures "in removing the Dirt and Filth from the Streets and Barracks, filling up Slips, &c" amounted to £900.

per day for his half: but as Mr. Lefferts was without the British lines, nothing was allowed him. This wharf as well as all others in the Commissary General's department & the flores were kept in constant repair at the expence of government. Wages & materials being very high, had the Owners been in full possession of their property & rented the same for any moderate sum, many of them would have been losers, had they been obliged to have kept the premises in repair.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> day of April 1783 a packet from England arrived at New York & brought over the preliminary articles of peace, & on the 8<sup>th</sup> of the same month, his Majesty's proclam<sup>n</sup> declaring a cessation of hostilities, was publicly read by the Town Major at the City hall.

Before the arrival of the preliminary articles viz<sup>t</sup> on the 18<sup>th</sup> February His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton<sup>1</sup> issued a general order in these words—

“Orders Head Quarters, New York Feb 18 1783 Should  
 “there be any person, at present within the lines, whose  
 “houses or lands have been withheld from them on account  
 “of offences or supposed offences against the Crown, they

<sup>1</sup> Sir Guy Carleton was a major-general in 1772; in 1774 he was appointed Captain-General and Governor of Canada, where he commanded during the campaign of 1775-6, under General's Montgomery and Arnold. In 1782 he succeeded Sir Henry Clinton, as commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in America; and at the close of the war he returned to England, where he succeeded to the titles and estate of Lord Dorchester. He died in 1808, aged eighty-three years.

“are desired to make their respective claims to the Officers  
 “of Police in New York on Longland or on Staten  
 “island, who will report the same to the Commander in  
 “chief. All persons without the lines, who have aban-  
 “doned Estates within are desired to send their claims to the  
 “offices of police aforesaid, and all persons occupying Es-  
 “tates within the above descriptions, are strictly enjoined to  
 “take due care thereof, as they will be made answerable for  
 “any damage, waste or destruction, that may henceforward  
 “be committed on the same. They will likewise permit  
 “any person authorized from either of the above mentioned  
 “offices to visit the said Estates, & take Inventories of all  
 “effects thereunto belonging.

“O. L. DELANCAÿ Adjutant General.”

Another order was afterward issued in these words

“New York 27 March 1783—Orders—In order to save  
 “much unnecessary trouble Notice is hereby given, That no  
 “persons whatever are to be admitted into the British Lines,  
 “without having previously obtained Passports for that pur-  
 “pose from the Commandant except those who come to &  
 “go from the markets. They will report themselves to  
 “the Police, whose permissions to take out horses &c will

<sup>1</sup> Oliver L. De Lancey, son of General Oliver De Lancey, of New York. He succeeded Major André, as adjutant-general of the army. He became, subsequently, deputy-adjutant-general of England, barrack-master-general of the British army, a member of Parliament, and a lieutenant-general of the army; and died in Edinburgh in 1820.

“be sufficient—Any persons who may have come in with-  
 “out leave are directed to report themselves immediately at  
 “the Commandants office, otherwise they will be subject to  
 “very disagreeable consequences. The General officers  
 “commanding in the several districts, will see that particular  
 “attention is paid to this order by the officers at the out-  
 “posts.

“O. L. DELANCY Adjutant General.”

These orders were issued prior to the arrival of the preliminary articles, many persons (who had been very active during the rebellion) were in consequence admitted within the British lines & in conforming to the mode prescribed in these orders were permitted to view their Estates, take Inventories & unmolested or insulted to return.

After the arrival of the preliminary articles some hundreds (if not thousands) of persons who had been in opposition to his majesty's government were allowed free ingress & egress to & from New York on obtaining passports for that purpose, which were easily obtained on the application of their friends. But many persons whose only crime was that of loyalty to their Sovereign, on going a few miles into the Country without the British Lines, were severely punished & obliged to return, not being permitted to visit their relations & friends after an absence of some years.

A number of refugees under the command of Major Ward who gloriously defended the Blockhouse<sup>1</sup> at Bull's

<sup>1</sup> The attack on the block-house at Bull's Ferry, July 20, 1780, was one of

Ferry on the 20 July 1780 against a very superior force of the enemy in the autumn of the year 1782 proposed to the Commander in chief to remove & settle in the Province of Nova Scotia, on lands to be granted them & provisions & some other aid from government. He acceded to their proposal, & about six hundred men, women & children embarked for that province in the latter part of that year.

After the arrival of the preliminary articles & before the definitive Treaty arrived, from the vindictive & persecuting disposition of the Americans, the refugees & other Loyalists were cut off from all hope of remaining in the States after the British troops should be withdrawn. They therefore made application to Sir Guy Carlton to be transported with their families & effects to Nova Scotia, on the same terms as the other refugees had gone there, that under the protection of his Majesty's government, they might find an asylum from the tyranny & oppression of their Countrymen. They were accordingly sent to such parts of that province as they requested. In consequence of such removal many of the derelict Estates became vacant, whereupon the Commander in chief was pleased to issue the following order

Head Quarters New York 16 June 1783 Orders

“ The proprietors of houses or lands lately evacuated will  
 “ apply to Lieut Genl Campbell for the possession of those

the most desperate affairs of the war. It has not received that place in our historical annals which its importance demands.



“ on Long island. To Brigadier General Birch for those on  
 “ York island & to Brigadier General Bruce<sup>1</sup> for those on  
 “ Staten island. These General officers will be pleased to  
 “ cause all such Estates to be immediately delivered up to  
 “ the Proprietors or their attorneys unless where they may  
 “ see sufficient reasons for detaining them some time longer,  
 “ which reasons they will report to the Commander in chief.  
 “ In like manner, all Estates which shall hereafter be evac-  
 “ uated are to be surrendered up to the proprietors.

“ O. L. DE LANCEY Adjutant General ”

From the 16<sup>th</sup> of June to the day of evacuation of New York the property which had been from time to time vacated was restored to the proprietors. But many houses & stores absolutely necessary were detained from the Proprietors until the evacuation of the city. Every pains was taken to prevent waste or destruction or improper persons from possessing such houses after the then possessors should have left them as will appear from the following garrison order issued by Brigadier General Birch Commandant of New York

“ Garrison orders 29 April 1783 In order to prevent  
 “ any waste or destruction in the houses under the direction  
 “ of the vestry or Barrack office notice is hereby given  
 “ that the present possessors of houses under the above  
 “ description are on no account to quit them, without giv-

<sup>1</sup> *Brigadier-general Bruce*, probably Andrew Bruce of the 54th Foot.

“ing previous notice to the Commandant, that an ex-  
 “amination may be made into their state; & on removal  
 “the keys are to be lodged at his office No 61 Wall  
 “Street; any person presuming to take possession of such  
 “houses, without permission from the Commandant, must  
 “expect the most disagreeable consequences. By order of  
 “the Commandant

“E. WILLIAMS Major of Brigade”

In order that justice might be done & that all persons who had any claims on the British government, during the time his Majesty's troops were in that part of North America now called the United States, & that the equity of the claims of such public creditors might be fully investigated his excellency Sir Guy Carlton was pleased to issue the following orders.

Head Quarters N York 4 May 1783. Orders—

“As many claims & demands have been exhibited to the  
 “Commander in chief for property supplied to the British  
 “army or officers in the several public departments since  
 “the 19<sup>th</sup> day of April 1775 & as it is expedient that the  
 “nature, extent & validity of such claims & demands  
 “should be known & ascertained in order that right &  
 “justice may be administered—Gregory Townshend Esqr

<sup>1</sup> E. Williams, brigade-major; probably Elijah Williams, of Deerfield, Massachusetts, who had entered the army in 1775; retired on half-pay after peace was restored; and died in 1793.

" Assistant Commissary General, Captain Armstrong Deputy  
 " Quarter General, Ward Chipman Esq,<sup>2</sup> Richard Harrison  
 " Esq<sup>r</sup> & Mr John Hamilton Agent<sup>3</sup> are appointed a Board  
 " of Commissioners, to receive & examine all such claims &  
 " demands, to call for & investigate the proofs that may be  
 " exhibited thereof, & to register the same preparatory to a  
 " farther liquidation. The said Commissioners or any three  
 " of them are authorized & directed to meet for the above  
 " purpose, at such place & on such days & times as they  
 " may deem proper. All such persons having such claims  
 " & demands, are to exhibit the same with the proofs &  
 " vouchers before this Board"

O. L. DELANCY Adjutant General

This Board met from the time of their appointment &  
 continued to meet, till within a very short time before the  
 evacuation of New York & many claims & demands  
 against the army & public departments presented to them.  
 Many of those claimants were desired to call for their  
 papers by advertisements in these words

" Board of claims 28 October 1783. The undermen-

<sup>1</sup> Gregory Townsend, Esq., assistant-commissary-general, probably a refugee from Boston, who had been driven from that town in 1778.

<sup>2</sup> Ward Chipman, Esq., a refugee from Boston who had entered the army as deputy-muster-master-general of the loyalist forces. After the war closed he retired to New Brunswick, where he became a member of the Assembly, advocate-general, solicitor-general, chief justice of the Supreme Court, and president and acting governor. He died at Fredericton in 1824.

<sup>3</sup> John Hamilton; see Note 2, page 127.

“tioned Persons who left papers with this board are desired  
“to call at No 32 Queen Street. By order.

“ROBT N. AUCHMUTY Secry”

All the before mentioned orders were printed in the public Newspapers & continued to be published for many months successfully—

The following advertisement, which is but a repetition of that which had been frequently published even before the peace will shew the intention of the Commissary General to do justice to all persons having any demands on his department

Commissary General's office, New York 13th Novr 1783

“All persons having demands against the Commissary  
“Generals department, for provisions, fuel, forage, store-rent,  
“vessel hire &c are desired to call & receive payment for  
“the same before the 22<sup>d</sup> Inst. after which no moneys will  
“be paid.”

In the sixth article of the Definitive Treaty, it is declared  
“That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any  
“prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for  
“or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken  
“in the present war; & that no person shall on that account  
“suffer any loss or damage either in his person, liberty or  
“property, & that those who may be in confinement on  
“such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty  
“in America shall be immediately set at liberty, & the pro-  
“secution so commenced be discontinued”

And although the Definitive Treaty is but an echo of the preliminary articles, which arrived in America in the month of April 1783 yet the Legislature of the State of New York had on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of March in that year, passed an act of which the following is a copy & which act is unrepealed.

“An Act for granting a more effectual relief in cases of  
 “certain trespasses. Be it enacted by the people of the  
 “State of New York represented in Senate & Assembly, &  
 “it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same That it  
 “shall & may be lawful for any person or persons who are  
 “or were inhabitants of this state & who by reason of the  
 “invasion of the enemy left his, her or their place or places  
 “of abode, & who have not voluntarily put themselves  
 “respectively into the power of the enemy, since they re-  
 “spectively left their places of abode, his, her or their Heirs  
 “Executors or Administrators, to bring an action of Trespass  
 “against any person or persons, who may have occupied, in-  
 “jured or destroyed his, her or their Estate, either real or  
 “personal, within the power of the enemy, or against any  
 “person or persons who shall have purchased or received  
 “any such goods or effects, or against his, her or their Heirs,  
 “Exors or Admors in any court of record within this  
 “State having cognizance of the same, in which action, if  
 “the same shall be brought against the person or persons,  
 “who have occupied, injured, or destroyed, or purchased or  
 “received such real or personal Estate as aforesaid, the  
 “Defendant or Defendants shall be held to bail, & if any

“such action shall be brought in any inferior Court, within this state, the same shall be finally determined in such Court, & every such action shall be considered as a transitory action. That no Defendant or Defendants shall be admitted to plead in justification any military order or command whatever of the enemy for such occupancy, injury, destruction, purchase or receipt, nor give the same in evidence on the general issue”<sup>1</sup>

Mr Butler having settled all his public & private accounts in the month of June 1781, obtained the Commander in chief & Commissary General’s leave to come to England, & has not since that time been in America. And at that time, both countries were at war, & the garrison of New York was in the possession of his Majesty’s Troops: & all persons civil & military & all property & in all parts of the British lines, were subject to, & under the absolute controul of the Commander in chief—

“On the 24<sup>th</sup> day of May last, the Legislature of the State of New York passed an Act entitled an Act to amend an Act entitled an Act for relief against absconding or absent Debtors; & to extend the remedy of the act entitled an act for granting a more effectual relief in cases of certain trespasses & for other purposes therein mentioned”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxxi., Laws of 1783. This is the so-called Trespass Act of New York.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Butler was in error concerning the date of this law. It was passed on the *fourth* of May, 1784, and is known as Chap. liv. of the Laws of New York, Seventh Session.—1 *Greenleaf*, 114.

A copy of this act cannot at present be procured but the mode of proceeding on that act is fully pointed out in the advertisements in the New York papers & which in substance is as follows A. B. gives notice That in pursuance of that act, an action of Trespas's had been by him commenced against C. D. in the Mayors court of the City of New York, that the Writ in the said cause had been returned, not found, by the Sheriff, that a declaration was thereupon filed in the Clerks office of the City of New York against the said C. D. by the said A. B. agreeable to the mode prescribed in & by the said act "for the use & " occupation of a dwelling house, with the appurtenances of " the said A. B. by him the said C. D. during the late war " between the United States of America & Great Britain, & " while the City of New York was in the possession of the " fleets & armies of the King of Great Britain" and that it was thereby published & notified that unless the said C. D. entered his appearance in the *said action* within six months from the date of that advertisement, a judgment would be entered against the said C. D. & a writ of inquiry would be granted to ascertain the said A. B's demand against the C. D. for the trespasses aforesaid agreeable to the intention & meaning of the said act & the practice of the said Court.

Mr Butler happens to be one of the few Officers employed in his Majestys service, who has left any estate in the province of New York & four suits have been commenced



against him, under the last mentioned act, of which actions, notice has been given in the terms above mentioned

The first of these suits is brought by Mr Lefferts already mentioned: the cause of action for the use & occupation of a dwelling house & dock with the appurtenances of the said Jacob Lefferts. The second is by a William Smith, for the use & occupation of a dwelling house with the appurtenances of the said William Smith. The third is by a Thomas Henderfon, as well for the use & occupation of one dwelling house, store house & dock with the appurtenances as for the destruction of one store house, & diverse quantities of household & kitchen furniture of the said Thomas Henderfon by the said Will: Butler. And the fourth is by a Tho<sup>s</sup> Ivers<sup>1</sup> for taking & carrying away of diverse new cables, a large quantity of cordage, nails, hemp, black tar, pitch, & several utensils & tools commonly used in the rope making business, the property of the said Thomas Ivers by him the said Will: Butler. It is of little consequence to enter into an inquiry with respect to the situation of the several Plaintiffs in these suits. Mr Butler had left the seat of war a length of time before there was the least prospect of peace & had he remained until the final evacuation, his person & property were equally free & and indemnified by the preliminary articles & the Definitive treaty, if those Treaties had any validity, or there can be any public faith or honour in the states. But it has been lately deter-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Ivers was one of the popular "Committee of One Hundred."

mined in the Mayors Court of New York, that all who held houses under the authority of the Commander in chief should be exempted from the repayment of rent: but that those who held under the Commissary general should be liable, because he had no authority by the laws of war to raise a revenue, but that his power was usurped.

As Mr. Butler during the whole of the time he served in America, acted only in a subordinate capacity & under the orders of his superiors namely the Commander in Chief & Commandant, to whose orders, he & all others in the different departments were bound to pay implicit obedience besides the orders of the head of that department

It is therefore asked

- 1<sup>mo</sup> Shall Mr. Butler in his private capacity be answerable for things done in his official character & in conformity to the orders of his superiors?
- 2<sup>do</sup> Supposing the Crown indebted to the Plaintiffs in those suits, for the articles charged, shall his private fortune be answerable for these demands?
- 3<sup>tio</sup> Do not the proceedings in those causes defeat the Definitive Treaty<sup>1</sup> & are not the Acts on which those suits are brought violations of the faith of the United States pledged on signing the preliminary articles & executing the Definitive Treaty?
- 4<sup>to</sup> What steps he ought to pursue & whether it would

<sup>1</sup> The Definitive Treaty of Peace may be found, at length, in the "Journal of the Congress of the United States," January 14, 1784.

not be advisable to enter his appearance to defend those suits?

- 5<sup>to</sup> Whether if he omits making any defence & suffers judgment to go against him, he can claim compensations for any loss or damage he may sustain, by reason of such judgment?

Account of Houses, Lands, Debts & effects the property of William Butler in the City & province of New York which he was obliged to leave.

*Bayard's Purchase on the Mohawk River.*

In this tract Mr B. had 1050 Acres, for	Curry.
which he was offered 8s. P acre	420 0 0

*Delaware Tract*

This Tract lies between the River Delaware & the Susquehannah, adjoining to lands belonging to General Provoſte & the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Henry White Lawrence Cartwright Esq<sup>r</sup> & others for which has been offered in peaceable times 6s P acre for the whole—Mr Butler's share of this tract is one entire piece containing 3994 acres, say a 6s

1198	4	0
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*Butter Hill Tract*

This Tract lies on the West side of Hudsons river & within half a mile of it & about

Carried forward	1618	4	0
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Brought forward 1618 4 0  
 sixty miles from New York. This land is well known by the name of the Clove, as it lies between the two great hills known by the names of Great Butter Hill & Little Butter Hill. It contains 632 acres for which Mr B was offered 16s P acre 505 12 0

*Forest of Dean Tract<sup>1</sup>*

Lies within 3 miles of the above Tract & contains 362 acres of land with the very best timber. It is known by the name of the Black Swamp & is within 3 miles of the river, between the iron works of Col<sup>l</sup> Matthews & Mr Haffenelever<sup>2</sup> & was always valued at 20s P acre 362 0 0

*The Mine Tract*

Lies within 7 miles of New Windsor & Newburgh & contains 120 acres of land bought of Mr Golett<sup>3</sup> a merchant in New

Carried forward 2485 16 0

<sup>1</sup> Forest of Dean in the lower part of the Highlands, north from Haverstraw, between that village and Fort Montgomery.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Haffenelever's iron works were in the upper part of what is now Rockland county. This gentlemen had expended large amounts of money in attempting to establish iron-works; and he had received the favorable consideration of the colonial authorities for his enterprise and perseverance.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Mr. Peter Goelet, a member of "the Committee of One Hundred," and grandfather of Peter Goelet, Esq., who resides at the corner of Broadway and East Nineteenth street, in this city.

	Brought forward	2485	16	0
York in the year 1772 for which Mr B paid them 17s P acre			102	0 0

*Poughkepsfy .*

This Tract lies in the middle of the Town, within a quarter of a mile of the Courthouse & joins the Glebe land. It contains 210 acres for which W. B. was offered 40s P acre This land is within 60 miles of New York

	420	0	0
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*Ten Stone Meadow*

This tract lies 7 miles west of Hudson's River & is known by the name of Newburgh Ridge, about 7 miles distant from Newburgh & New Windsor It adjoins to the lands of John Leake Esqr<sup>t</sup> & others & contains 270 acres for which 40s P acre has been offered

	540	0	0
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*Sachandaga Tract*

This Tract lies on the Sachandaga river in the County of Albany about 15 miles from Sir John Johnston's<sup>2</sup> It contains in all 52000 acres of which W. B. was to have 12000 This Land was bought from the

	Carried forward	3547	16	0
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<sup>1</sup> John Leake, one of the founders of the Leake and Watts Orphan House at Bloomingdale.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Johnston's—"Johnston Hall," near the village of Johnstown, Fulton county, New York.

	Brought forward	3547 16 0
Indians about the year 1770 or 1771 in the names of Col <sup>l</sup> Butler, Hendrick Benfon, Durek Lefferts, John & Rob <sup>t</sup> Leake Co. for which the Indians were paid £12 P thousand By some means or other, the patent from government did not issue: & the troubles beginning there was no way of obtaining it, as the Governor was obliged to come away—W. B. paid for 12000 acres of the above Tract at £12 P thousand which makes the amo <sup>t</sup> of his claim to be		144 0 0

*Particulars of Lands*

These Lands lie on the East side of Hudson's River, opposite to the Half moon, 12 miles north of the City of Albany, & contain 840 acres, which were proved vacant & granted by the Governor & Council of New York on or about the year 1769 to Rob<sup>t</sup> Leake Co. These Lands were held in possession by Anth'y Bratt Hendrick Vrouman & others, who rather than move off bought them at 20s per acre & paid £100 down to bind the bargain. The remaining £740 was to be paid in three annual payments with in-

	Carried forward	3691 61 0
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	Brought forward	3691	16	0
terest W. B's claim is for one fourth of £840				
the sum that it fold for to the above pur-				
chasers		210	0	0

*Two Lots of Land at the River side near the College at  
New York<sup>1</sup>*

The eligible situation of the place, induced Mr B. & others to make this ground which they verily did entirely—& the first step towards it, was by obtaining a grant from the Governors of the College into the river from high water mark to low water mark, an extent of 100 feet They then dug into the side of the hill 75 feet by 60 & with horses & carts carried the earth to the front which was inclosed by the wharf; so that when the lots were completely finished they measured 60 feet in front on the river & 157 deep on the land side. The wharf in front cost Mr B. £60. The front fence & a small house in the garden cost him £60 & he was offered £100 with the above expence for each of the lots. When the Kings troops arrived at Staten island, the Rose & Phenix<sup>2</sup> men of

	Carried forward	3901	16	0
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<sup>1</sup> King's (*now Columbia*) College, New York.

<sup>2</sup> The Rose and Phenix, with three tenders, passed up the river, as stated



Brought forward	3901	16	0
war were ordered up the North river: & the Rebels in order to annoy them thought proper to erect a battery on my ground, <sup>1</sup> for which purpose they filled up my wharf & all the post & timber on the lots—by which their purpose was answered but afterwards by taking up the wharf, the water in a short time flowed in & washed all away, by which means, he lost what he might have obtained that is	320	0	0
Debts due as p abitract	800	0	0

*Hopes*

A fine lot of Lot ground in New York situated on the East river, on which there is a new Brick house in front & a wooden house in the rear called Montgomery Ward, for which Estate Mr. B. paid down in ready Cash in the year 1781 to Hugh Gain Printer at New York<sup>2</sup> 750 guineas—equal to

1340	0	0
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Carried forward

6361	16	0
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in the text; and very minute accounts of their trip may be found in General Washington's "Letter to General Schuyler," July 15, 1776, and in Irving's "Life of Washington," II., pp. 259-264.

<sup>1</sup> "In the year 1776, when the Phoenix and Rose frigates pushed up the North River, the Americans made a tremendous fire from this battery (*Fort George*) and the others along the North river, from as many as two hundred cannons."—Old Magazine, cited by Mr. Watton (*Annals*, p. 334).

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Gain, printer; the veteran publisher of "The New York Ga-

Brought forward 6361 16 0

A fine lot of ground, on which there are two good houses situate at the Corner of Maiden Lane & William Street in the East ward of the City of New York, for which Mr B paid in 1781 to Robt Deal, merchant, in ready money 700 guineas—equal to 1306 13 4

*Negroes left behind by Mr. B*

A man — cost £65

A woman — do 45

A boy 2 years old 10 120 0 0

N. B. Mr B. could not bring away many valuable effects which are here omitted—

£7788 9 4

[Endorsed

Cafe of W<sup>m</sup> Butler Esq.]

zette and Mercury." As may be seen by reference to page 34, his place of business was in Hanover square.

## WASHINGTON'S CONTEMPLATED ATTACK ON NEW YORK.

[The following paper, part of which, in the original, is in the autograph of Sir Henry Clinton, appears to be a statement of some of the circumstances which induced that gentleman to permit the allied forces of America and France to proceed from the North to Virginia, without interruption; and it is a partial defence of his conduct against the censures which were thrown upon it after the capture of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.]

The person to whom it was addressed, it appears, desired to use the information for some public purpose; and it is not improbable that, whoever he was, he had been service in America, under Sir Henry's command.

The subject of the paper has been fully and truly discussed in the fifty correspondence between Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, which was published in London in 1783.]

If a Question should be asked respecting a possibility of attacking Washington in July and August, in few Words I say—

1<sup>st</sup>. He had at least, with the French,<sup>1</sup> 11,000—I had of

<sup>1</sup> At the time to which this paper refers—July and August, 1781—General Washington was meditating a formidable descent upon New York for the purpose of taking it from Sir Henry Clinton, who was believed (a belief this paper tends to confirm) to have so weakened himself by detachments to the southward, as to render the success of such an important enterprise practicable, supported as Washington expected to be by the French fleet under Count de Grasse. A letter, however, reached Washington from De Grasse, on the 14th of August, stating that the latter would sail directly for the Chesapeake—which decided Washington to co-operate with him there against Lord Cornwallis.

<sup>2</sup> Count de Rochambeau was supporting Washington with the French forces from Newport.

Regular Troops, altogether 9,300 fit for Duty,<sup>1</sup> & thefe difperfed in an Extent of above 100 miles—To affemble them would require Days—to do it wantonly, expofe all the different Stations, delay the Works then carrying on &c &c &c

As to the object, Wafington 12 miles from me<sup>2</sup> with 11,000 men in a Pofition exceeding ftrong, and if beat finding another within a Mile & &c<sup>3</sup> fuch an attack not juftifiable with five times the force I could, after taking care of thefe important Stations, spare. For of 9,300 it was in formal Council of Generals Kniphaufen<sup>4</sup> Robertfon<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Had my correpondence been produced, it would have appeared from it, and the returns accompanying it, that inftead of feventeen, twenty, nay, twenty-four thoufand men, which it has been reported I had at New York (after the very ample reinforcements, as the Minifter acknowledges, which I had fent to the fouthward), I had not 12,000 effectives, and of thefe not above 9300 fit for duty, regulars and Provincials.”—*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative*, 1783, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The head quarters of General Wafington were “near Dobbs's Ferry,” although the encampments of the allied armies extended to the eaftward as far as the White Plains.

<sup>3</sup> It is probable “the Hills” in North Caftle—to which General Wafington had fallen back in the fall of 1776, after the battle of the White Plains—is the pofition here referred to.

<sup>4</sup> General Knyphaufen commanded the Hefian troops in America. He retired to Pruffia at the clofe of the war, and died at Berlin, in June, 1789, aged 59 years.

<sup>5</sup> General James Robertfon was appointed major of the firft battalion of the fixtieth regiment, in December, 1755; and in May, 1758, deputy quartermafter-general in America. He was prefent at the fiege of Louifbourg, in 1758; was appointed lieutenant-colonel, July 8, 1758; accompanied General Amheift up to the northern frontiers, in 1759, as quartermafter-general;

and Birch agreed that I could not pass beyond the Harlem, with any probability of remaining a few days, without I left of Regular Troops 6,500. All agreeing that these Posts could not be trusted to Militia.' By which it appears that I had for forward movement not quite 3,000 of Regular Troops. But I am free to own that if I had had four times that number I would not have marched out to attack Wathington's Army to posted, and in a great measure Matter of the Rivers with his Gun Boats &c. For we had not a single Frigate in them, ignorant where our Fleet were gone, or when it might return, and by no means certain that the French Fleet might not visit us; besides all this, I expected daily reinforcement from England and Cheata-

was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 55th regiment, October, 20, 1759; was with the expedition against Martinique, in 1762; and in 1772 was promoted to colonel of the army. On the 31st January, 1776, being at Boston, he was appointed a major-general in America; and on the 10th of the same month, ordered commanding the 6th regiment. When the enemy evacuated Boston, he gained an admirable immunity from his pecculations. He accompanied General Howe to New York; was present at the battle of Long Island; was appointed commander in the city of New York; and returned to England in February, 1777. He was appointed a major-general, August 20, 1777; colonel of the 16th regiment, on the 14th May, 1778; on the 4th May, 1779, governor of the colony of New York. He became lieutenant-general, 20th November, 1782; embarked at New York for England, April 15, 1783; and died in 1788.

"I do not know that, after leaving sufficient garrisons in the islands and posts depending (which it is admitted it will require 6000) I could, I has been intimated, have prevented the junction between Mons. Rochambeau and General Wathington."—*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative*, 1783, p. 13.

\* Admiral Digby, with six ships of the line, arrived at New York on the

peak;’ by the arrival of which, if in any time, and the Naval Force that would accompany them, I might attempt a Move against Washington with advantage, by destroying his Bridges on Crotees,<sup>2</sup> and place myself on his communications with North Castle<sup>3</sup>—You know my place—nor was this the only object. You know what my views were about the French Fleet at Rhode Island, and, if reinforced either from Chesapeake or England, what I should attempt whenever the Admiral would mask the Harbour; for I asked nothing more of the Fleet.

As to the reconnoitring party of the 5th July you know how it ended.<sup>4</sup> In the situation I was, I could not have followed it without risking a general Action with the Garrison of Kingsbridge only, for I had not time to bring up more.

twenty-fourth of September, 1781.—*vide* Sir Henry Clinton’s Narrative, 1783, p. 11; and Sir Henry Clinton’s Letter to General Cornwallis, September 6, 1781.

<sup>1</sup> “Thinking that he (*Lord Cornwallis*) might well spare three thousand I desired he would keep all that were necessary for a respectable defensive, and defultory water movements, and *send me of three thousand men all he could.*”—*Sir Henry Clinton’s Narrative*, 1783, p. 21. See also Sir Henry’s Letter to Lord Cornwallis, June 15, 1781.

<sup>2</sup> “Croton River.”

<sup>3</sup> North Castle, a town in Westchester county, north-east from the White Plains, into which the American army retreated after the battle of White Plains, in October, 1776.—Bolton’s “History of West Chester County,” I. p. 468.

<sup>4</sup> An account of this interesting affair can be found in General Washington’s letter to the President of Congress, 6 July, 1781; and in General Washington’s Diary, July 2d and 3d, 1781.

As to the 25<sup>th</sup> July. By an unexpected Move they marked our only Debouché: and while they held it, 30,000 ought not to have tried to force it: but supposing I had determined to pass the Harlem, could I do it before Bridges were thrown over? for to land in Boats would subject myself to be beat in detail: but could I have possessed the Heights of Fordam<sup>1</sup> in force, I recollect my Debouché. to attack Wathington in his position of Valentine's Houſe<sup>2</sup> (which you have ſeen) do you think that I could be juſtified in attacking him with double his number in ſuch a poſition, where ſucceſs could not be deceiſive, and where defeat would be too much to? nor after that Council of War, could it be ſuppoſed I would ever leave theſe Stations with much leſs than 6,000.<sup>3</sup> The only chance I ever had of an Attempt upon any part of Wathington's Army muſt have been a partial action, with one or two of his columns advancing to Kingbridge when I ſhould be reinforced.

The German recruits arrived on the 11<sup>th</sup> Auguſt:<sup>4</sup> on the

<sup>1</sup> "The Heights of Fordam," in the town of Weſt Farms, Weſtcheſter county, N. Y.

<sup>2</sup> "Valentine's Houſe," the reſidence of Thomas Valentine, on the well-known "Valentine's Hill," about 2½ mile from the village of Yonkers, Weſtcheſter county, N. Y.—Balton's "Hiſtory of Weſtcheſter county," II., p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Note 1, page 179.

<sup>4</sup> "A fleet of twenty ſail came in laſt Saturday with troops, but they are ſaid to be Helſian recruits from Europe."—General Washington to General La Fayette, 15 Auguſt, 1781.



17<sup>th</sup> Washington foraged within fix Miles of me—I expected him again about the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> and you know I was prepared to try any experiment that might offer. The Troops were assembled, the materials for Bridges on the ground, and all would have been ready to move over Harlem the 19<sup>th</sup>. I consulted with Gen<sup>l</sup> Knipphausen what we should do—He seemed I confess to think that “*Le jeu ne valoit pas la chandelle.*” But I was desirous with 7000 men to try an experiment, as I was persuaded I could do it with some security with three Bridges over the Harlem, if it was attempted before Washington came too near me all was prepared but the Enemy retired the 19<sup>th</sup> &c &c &c<sup>1</sup>

I mention these circumstances not because I can suppose any Military man of common sense or knowledge of my force, and that of the Enemy or the ground between us, would have supposed it possible for me to have attempted anything, but because I know there is a set of discontented animals here, some of them Military that are determined to criticize *all I do*—You may not probably think it necessary to say a syllable on the subject, but should that be so, these are my Opinions. I could name 1000 more the above are some of the Chief.

As to following W—— when he went to the South-

<sup>1</sup> “About noon, His Excellency General Washington left the army, setting his face towards his native State, in full confidence, to use his own words, ‘with a common blessing,’ of capturing Lord Cornwallis and his army.”—*Heath’s Memoirs*, August 19, 1781.

ward,<sup>1</sup> my Letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> September to Lord Cornwallis<sup>2</sup> proves, how absurd that would have been: by that I bound myself to reinforce his Lordship by every means in my power, as soon as the Admiral should signify to me it could be done. To have landed in the Jerseys would have taken ten days, by attempting an unimportant Move, I might have lost the opportunity of making the most important one that could be made.

N. B. When Mr Graves failed,<sup>3</sup> Sir Samuel Hood<sup>4</sup> was clear of opinion *La Grasse*<sup>5</sup> would bring no more than 16 of the Line at most. Barras tho' at Sea was far to the East-

<sup>1</sup> General Washington, in his movement against Cornwallis in Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> This letter can be found in "The Correspondence between Sir Henry Clinton and Earl Cornwallis, relative to the Defence of York, in Virginia."

<sup>3</sup> "Mr. Graves"—Admiral Lord Graves entered the navy when very young; was sent to the American Station in 1761; in 1779, was promoted to the post of rear admiral; in 1793, to that of vice-admiral; and in 1794, to that of admiral. He was present in the action off St. Vincent, and died March 8, 1787, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

<sup>4</sup> "Sir Samuel Hood"—Admiral Lord Viscount Hood, "the Subduer of Corfica, who first shook the enfeebled power of The Mad Destroyer," was one of the most distinguished officers of the British navy. He was employed in the West Indies, where he preserved St. Christopher's from being taken by De Grasse, and was present at the famous defeat of that officer by Admiral Rodney, April 12, 1782. He died at Bath in 1816.

<sup>5</sup> "*La Grasse*"—Count De Grasse was born in France in 1723; was appointed to co-operate with the Americans in 1781; and died in 1788. His daughter married Mr. Depeau, of New York, and his descendants are among the most respected merchants in that city.

<sup>6</sup> As will be seen from General Washington's letter to the President of Congress, 5th September, 1781, the admiral brought in "*twenty-eight ships of the line.*"

ward, there therefore was every probability that Mr Graves would beat them en detail, and even should they join, Sir Samuel Hood said he thought they were a Match.

Arnold went to new London, the first of September and returned the 9<sup>th</sup> in his absence it was not thought possible to move a man either by Sea or Land. (It is supposed he had all the Transports with him. But this is only conjecture.)

<sup>1</sup> It was not until the 2d of September that Sir Henry Clinton<sup>2</sup> suspected Washington's real destination, when he despatched General Benedict Arnold against New London on the 4th of September. A minute account of that sanguinary visit of the traitor-general to his native state, may be found in "The Battles of the United States," by Henry B. Dawson, I., pp. 721-723.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., was the eldest son of Admiral George Clinton, formerly governor of the colony of New York. He entered the army at an early age, as captain-lieutenant in the New York companies. On the 1st November, 1751, he became lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards; on the 6th May, 1758, captain in the 1st Foot Guards; in 1762, a colonel in the army; and on the 28th November, 1766, colonel of the 16th regiment. He served, with great credit, in the seven years' war in Germany; on the 25th May, 1772, was made a major-general; and in May, 1775, arrived at Boston. He was present when the action on Bunker's Hill was fought, and greatly distinguished himself—receiving knighthood and the office of lieutenant-general in America. On the 1st January, 1776, he was made general in America; suffered defeat on Sullivan's Island, in June of that year; was in the battles of Long Island and White Plains, and at the capture of Fort Washington. In 1777 he commanded on the Hudson, and captured Forts Montgomery and Clinton. In August, 1777, he was made lieutenant-general: in 1778, he succeeded General Howe in the chief command; in June, 1778, he fought at Monmouth; and in December of that year, was appointed colonel of the 84th Royal Highlanders. In April, 1779, he was appointed colonel of the 7th Light Dragoons; in December, failed for Charleston, which he reduced; and in 1782, returned to England—Sir Guy Carleton succeeding him in the chief command. He died, December 13, 1795.

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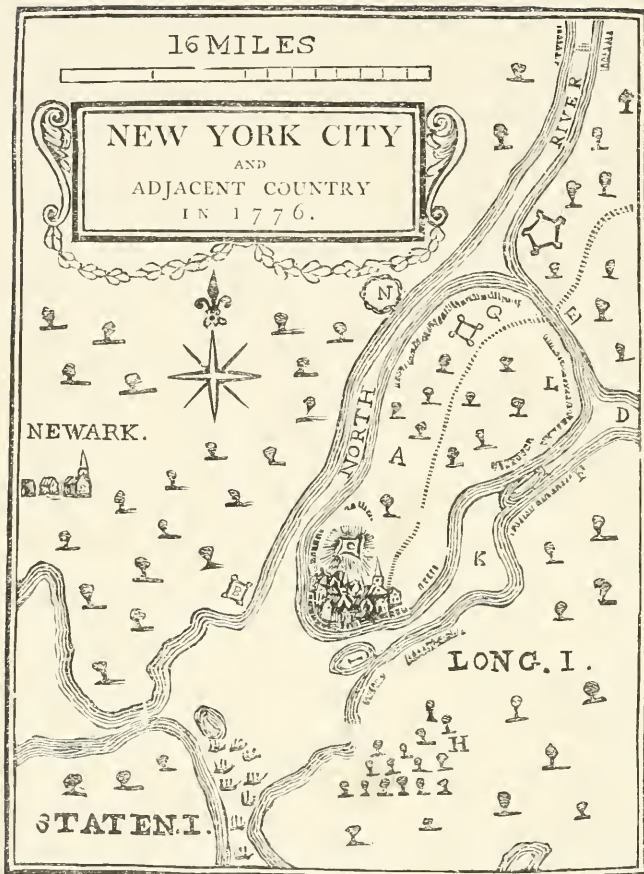
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